

Dr Judith Ryder is currently Research fellow at Wolfson College, Oxford. Her research interests include Byzantine history, theology and culture, particularly of the 11th and 14th centuries. Her thesis on Demetrius Kydones won the 2006 Hellenic Foundation prize for best UK thesis in the Byzantine/Modern Greek category.

The second half of the fourteenth century was a period of rapid change in the Eastern Mediterranean, principally due to the expansion into Europe of the Ottoman Turks. Demetrius Kydones was one of the key Byzantine political and intellectual figures of the time, and his writings are regarded as one of the most important sources for study of the period. Kydones' career spanned at least four decades, from the 1340s to the 1380s. A Latin scholar, influenced in particular by the writings of Thomas Aquinas (some of which he translated into Greek), Kydones was a leading advocate of improvement of relations between Byzantium and the Latin West as crucial to Byzantine survival. This book examines Kydones' career and writings, investigating how they can contribute to developing a nuanced understanding of Byzantine political and cultural developments in these years of crisis.

ISBN 978 90 04 18565 4



brill.nl/mmed  
ISSN 0928-5520

MMED 85

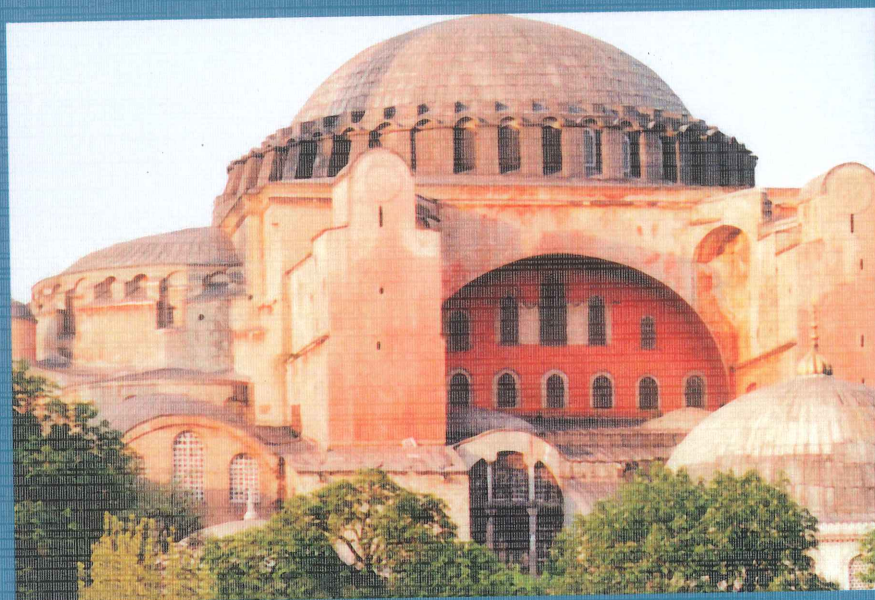
Ryder *The Career and Writings of Demetrius Kydones*

BRILL

# The Career and Writings of Demetrius Kydones

A Study of Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Politics, Religion and Society

*Judith R. Ryder*



BRILL

\* \* \* THE MEDIEVAL MEDITERRANEAN \* \* \*

# The Medieval Mediterranean

Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1500

*Managing Editor*

Hugh Kennedy

SOAS, London

*Editors*

Paul Magdalino, St. Andrews

David Abulafia, Cambridge

Benjamin Arbel, Tel Aviv

Larry J. Simon, Western Michigan University

Olivia Remie Constable, Notre Dame

VOLUME 85

# The Career and Writings of Demetrius Kydones

A Study of Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Politics,  
Religion and Society

*By*

Judith R. Ryder



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON  
2010

Cover illustration: Haghia Sophia, photo by author.

“Μετ’ εὐρήνης καὶ ἀγάπης ἀπέρχεσθε καλῶς εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Σοφίαν, ὁπόθεν βούλεσθε”  
George Sphrantzes, Chronicon minus, Chapter 23

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Ryder, Judith R.

The career and writings of Demetrius Kydones : a study of fourteenth-century Byzantine politics, religion and society / by Judith R. Ryder.  
p. cm. – (The medieval Mediterranean peoples, economies and cultures, 400-1500, ISSN 0928-5520 ; v. 85)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-90-04-18565-4 (hardback : alk. paper)

1. Demetrius Cydones, ca. 1324-ca. 1398. 2. Statesmen–Byzantine Empire–Biography. 3. Authors, Byzantine–Biography. 4. Byzantine Empire–Intellectual life. 5. Byzantine Empire–Politics and government–1081-1453. 6. Byzantine Empire–Church history. 7. Byzantine Empire–Social conditions. I. Title. II. Series.

PA5310.D4Z85 2010

949.5’04092–dc22

[B]

2010014786

ISSN 0928-5520

ISBN 978 90 04 18565 4

Copyright 2010 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.  
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishing,  
IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Brill has made all reasonable efforts to trace all rights holders to any copyrighted material used in this work. In cases where these efforts have not been successful the publisher welcomes communications from copyrights holders, so that the appropriate acknowledgements can be made in future editions, and to settle other permission matters.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.  
Fees are subject to change.



**Mixed Sources**

Product group from well-managed forests  
and other controlled sources

www.fsc.org Cert no. SGS-COC-006767  
©1996 Forest Stewardship Council

PRINTED BY A-D DRUK BV - ZEIST, THE NETHERLANDS

## CONTENTS

Acknowledgements .....	IX
Abbreviations .....	XI
Introduction .....	XIII

### SECTION ONE

#### INTELLECTUAL CONTEXT

Introduction .....	3
Chapter One. Demetrius' Intellectual Background .....	5
1.1. The Primary Context: The Byzantine Background .....	5
1.2. The Secondary Context: Western Texts .....	13
1.2.1. Demetrius' Latin Studies .....	13
1.2.2. The Evidence .....	15
The Writers/Texts .....	16
Aquinas .....	16
Augustinian Texts .....	20
Boethius .....	24
Further texts .....	26
1.2.3. The Western Material: Observations .....	28

### SECTION TWO

#### IDEAS AND PREOCCUPATIONS

Introduction .....	41
The Sources: Demetrius' Writings to c. 1371 .....	42
Chapter Two. The Political Sphere .....	49
2.1. Demetrius' Understanding of Imperial Office and His Relationship with His Imperial Patrons .....	49
2.2. Foreign Policy (Excluding Relations with the Latin West) .....	57
2.2.1. The Turkish Threat .....	57

2.2.2. Bulgarians and Serbs .....	63
2.2.3. Hungarians and Mongols .....	67
2.3. Foreign Policy: The Latins .....	70
Chapter Three. The Religious Sphere .....	83
3.1. Key Principles and Ideas .....	83
3.1.1. Faith and Revelation .....	84
3.1.2. The Sources of Revelation: Interplay of Scripture, 'Fathers' and 'Councils' .....	85
3.1.3. Methodology: Infallibility and Fallibility; Determining Authoritative Sources .....	88
3.1.4. Methodology: Defending the Latins .....	90
3.1.5. Methodology: The Status of Human Reason .....	92
3.1.6. 'Fathers' and 'Councils': Practical Issues .....	96
3.2. Specific Issues .....	103
3.2.1. The Church, East and West .....	103
3.2.2. The <i>Filioque</i> .....	118
3.2.3. Palamas .....	124

## SECTION THREE

## HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction .....	131
Chapter Four. The Extent of 'Publicity' .....	133
4.1. Channels for Circulation .....	133
4.1.1. The Manuscript Evidence .....	133
4.1.2. Further Evidence of Circulation .....	136
4.2. Political Themes .....	148
4.2.1. Demetrius and His Imperial Patrons .....	148
4.2.2. Foreign Policy .....	153
The Turkish Threat .....	153
International Relations (Excluding the Latins) .....	156
International Relations: The Latins .....	157
4.3. Religious Themes .....	160
4.3.1. General Attitudes to the West, Including the Papacy .....	160
4.3.2. Specific Doctrinal Issues .....	161
The <i>Filioque</i> .....	161
Palamism, Philotheos and the Hesychasts .....	162
4.4. Normative Relations .....	165
Conclusions .....	168

Chapter Five. Contextualising Demetrius' Pro-western Approach .....	169
Introduction .....	169
5.1. The General Background: Byzantine-papal/Byzantine-Latin Relations .....	171
5.2. Demetrius' Role in Developments .....	184
5.3. The Credibility of the Pro-western Propaganda .....	205
Chapter Six. Orthodox Developments .....	221
Introduction .....	221
6.1. Divisions within Orthodoxy .....	221
6.1.1. The Hesychast Background .....	221
6.1.2. The Repercussions of the Civil War .....	228
6.1.3. Philotheos and Demetrius in the Late 1360s .....	232
6.2. Indications of Strength? .....	239
6.2.1. 'Orthodox Universalism' and Relations with Other Orthodox Sees .....	241
Serbia/Peç .....	243
Bulgaria/Trnovo .....	245
Russia/Kiev .....	247
6.2.2. 'International Hesychasm' .....	250
Conclusions .....	258
Conclusion .....	265
Select Bibliography .....	269
General Index .....	281
Manuscripts mentioned .....	289
Index of Letters of Demetrius Kydones cited .....	291
Original works of named authors / translations cited in the text .....	293

N.B. Throughout this study, Demetrius' letters will be cited according to Loenertz' numbering (e.g. L3, L286). Where specific lines within the letters are cited, the references will give first the page in Loenertz, followed by the number of the letter and the line numbers within the letter; e.g. (from p. 50): Loenertz, *Demetrius Kydones, Correspondance, II*, 154: 249, 41 f.

Many references to Demetrius' writings are accompanied by the Greek original in footnotes. Where this is the case, the argument in the main text gives a close paraphrase of the contents of these footnotes. Exact translations have therefore not been given. The Greek original is given for the benefit of those to whom the exact wording is of importance; it is not necessary to the overall argument of the study.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book arises from my masters and doctoral studies undertaken at the University of Oxford, as a member of the History Faculty and St John's College, during the years 2000–2005. It is impossible to acknowledge adequately all those who contributed, whether on a personal or academic level, to those years of study; I will therefore not attempt to do so, but will instead confine myself to mentioning the funding bodies, individuals and institutions of particular importance in supporting and advancing my work on Demetrius Kydones. First, acknowledgment is due to the Student Awards Agency for Scotland, which funded my M.Phil studies, and to the Arts and Humanities Research Board (now Arts and Humanities Research Council), which funded my doctoral studies. Second, thanks on a more personal level are due to my supervisors: Dr Nigel Wilson, who supervised my M.Phil studies, and Professor Elizabeth Jeffreys, who supervised my doctorate, and who has been a source of much encouragement and sound advice over many years, before, during and indeed after my doctoral studies. Third, acknowledgement is due to St John's College, which provided the backdrop to both my undergraduate and graduate studies, and to my present college, Wolfson, which has provided a friendly and supportive scholarly environment for me as a Research Fellow, enabling me finally to bring my work on Kydones to publication.

Kidlington, January 2010

## ABBREVIATIONS

AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
AFFP	<i>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum</i>
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BNJ	<i>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
BS	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
Byz	<i>Byzantion</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
EO	<i>Échos d'Orient</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JÖBG	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft</i>
LCC	Library of Christian Classics
MM	Miklosich, F. and Müller, J., <i>Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana I–II (Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani MCCCXV–MCCCCII e codicibus manu scriptis Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis)</i> (Vienna, 1860–1862)
OCP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
ODB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , general editor Kazhdan, A.P. (Oxford University Press, New York/Oxford, 1991)
PG	Migne, J.P. <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeco-Latina</i> (Paris, 1857–1866)
PL	Migne, J.P., <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina</i> (Paris, 1844–1865)
PLP	Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit, ed. Trapp, E., Beyer, H.-V., Walther, R. et al.
REB	Revue des Études Byzantines
SCG	Summa Contra Gentiles. English edition, in 5 vols.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975
SE	<i>Sacris Erudiri</i>
SeT	<i>Studi e Testi</i>
ST	Summa Theologica. English edition, in 5 vols.: LCC, Westminster, Md, 1981
ZKG	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>

## INTRODUCTION

Demetrius Kydones (c. 1324–c. 1397) is a figure well-known to Byzantine historians, as well as to many others, particularly where questions arise concerning the intellectual and political relationship between Byzantium and the west. He is known in various guises: as a political figure, whose career spanned over four decades, from the 1340s to the 1390s, involving him in major international political developments of the period, including negotiations between Byzantium and the papacy, and crusading projects; as a writer, whose surviving works include a large letter collection and a range of political, theological and philosophical texts; as a translator, who made numerous works of Latin theology—principally Aquinas—available in Greek; and as a ‘Catholic convert’, who came to support Catholic doctrines and papal claims to universal authority, and encouraged his compatriots to do the same. Even this brief account of Demetrius is enough to show that, in the context of fourteenth-century Byzantium, he was an active, influential and controversial figure. He has, deservedly, attracted much attention over the years, and been generally accepted as one of the most important Byzantine figures of the fourteenth century.

However, Demetrius is also a difficult figure to deal with, partly because of the extent of his reputation and variety of his activities, but partly also because of the difficulty of placing him in terms of conventional ideas of what constitutes ‘Byzantine’ history. He is, in some ways, the Byzantine statesman *par excellence*: a highly-educated, highly-placed official, faithfully pursuing Byzantine literary traditions and promoting Byzantine political interests. His lengthy political career involved him at the heart of Byzantine foreign policy, and his writings frequently refer directly both to the developments of the period and to their impact. Given this, Demetrius should by rights be seen as an invaluable source for the development of Byzantine politics and society in the period—and, indeed, he frequently is. But there can also be a tendency to lose sight of this because of the other aspects of Demetrius’ reputation: his interest in Catholic theology, and personal ‘conversion’. If the received wisdom is accepted according to which to be Byzantine must be to be Orthodox, to the exclusion of identification with the Catholic west, these factors cast doubt upon Demetrius’ ‘Byzantine’ credentials, and thus his

value as a source regarding Byzantine society. In short, Demetrius becomes an anomaly. An important anomaly, true; but an anomaly nonetheless.

This study aims to restore Demetrius as a 'Byzantine' source, and, in doing so, to discuss what light his writings can shed on the development of his society. To dismiss Demetrius as 'un-Byzantine' is to assume that the parameters of his society are clear-cut, and that he belongs at least in part outside them. This assumption, however, is flawed; the historical circumstances speak against it. The second half of the fourteenth century was a period of rapid political change in the Eastern Mediterranean, largely driven by the rise of the Ottoman Turks and their establishment in Europe, and the various populations across the region had to respond to the changing situation. The Byzantines, who already existed within a set of very complex political, cultural and ethnic relationships, were also subject to this. Given these conditions, to assume from the outset that the Byzantine response was monolithic, and therefore that only certain types of source can be regarded as representative, would be unjustified. Instead, where possible, all sources should be given serious consideration, with a view to building up a picture of the situation based not on external, pre-conceived categories, but on observable phenomena.

This study certainly cannot claim to do all this; its focus on Demetrius alone precludes this from the outset. However, it is intended to contribute to the process of building up an understanding of the developments of the period. What it seeks to do is to give an account of Demetrius' background, thought and career which takes Demetrius seriously, both as an individual and as a source for the period; which sees him not as anomalous, in contrast to the mainstream of Byzantine developments, but as an integral part of those developments, and as such potentially able to play a central role in the development of a balanced account of the conditions prevailing at the time.

In doing so, this study concentrates on the first half of Demetrius' political career, from c. 1347 to c. 1373. There are various reasons for focusing on this period. In terms of Demetrius' career, his activities—political, theological and literary—can be most clearly seen developing in these years, and their implications most profitably assessed. In terms of Byzantine political developments, the period is relatively cohesive, particularly in terms of negotiations with the west. Above all, however, the period calls for particular attention in its own right because of its transitional nature, as described above. In the early fourteenth century, Byzantine norms were still governed largely by a sense of the threat posed by western Christendom. By 1373, this had been overshadowed by the Ottoman threat, which had come to dominate

the political landscape of Byzantium and its Orthodox neighbours. Between these two points lies an important period of re-evaluation of the Byzantine position. This period therefore richly merits study as one of the most important formative periods in Byzantine history—and one, moreover, in which it cannot be assumed that norms governing earlier and later conditions necessarily apply.

In order to make proper use of Demetrius' potential as a source for the period, however, it is necessary first to give a balanced account of both his intellectual background and credentials and the ideas and policies he represents. Sections I and II of this study will attempt to do this. Section I will concentrate on Demetrius' intellectual context, dealing with both his credentials as a Byzantine scholar and his more unusual interest in western theology, for which he is particularly renowned. Section II will then give an account of the characteristics of Demetrius' own thought, as expressed in his writings. Chapter 2 will look first at his key political preoccupations, emphasising Demetrius' role as a Byzantine political figure. Chapter 3 will then discuss Demetrius' approach to theological issues of the period, including his approach to western theology.

Section III will then attempt to merge the findings of the first two sections with the historical developments of the period, and Demetrius' role within those developments. The central focus of this Section—and, indeed, of the study as a whole—is Chapter 5, which seeks to draw out the implications of Demetrius' career and writings when placed in their historical context, and by doing so to establish his pro-western agenda as falling within the spectrum of mainstream Byzantine developments, rather than as alien to them. Chapters 4 and 6 are designed to support the methodological approach and conclusions of Chapter 5. Chapter 4 seeks to justify the assumption that the ideas expressed in Demetrius' writings were in fact publicly associated with him, and hence are an important factor to take into account when assessing his public career. Chapter 6 takes a rather different approach. Given that one of the main obstacles preventing Demetrius from being regarded as anything but anomalous within Byzantine society is his 'Catholicism', Chapter 6 looks at the other side of the coin, asking whether Byzantine Orthodoxy was in any case sufficiently clear-cut and unified in outlook in the period to justify dismissing Demetrius' 'Catholic' ideas as counter-cultural.



SECTION ONE

INTELLECTUAL CONTEXT

## INTRODUCTION

This opening section is intended to give a basic introduction to Demetrius' intellectual background. To do full justice to his intellectual roots would be an extensive task, both because of the complexity of the Byzantine scholarly scene in the period and because Demetrius' interests were wide-ranging. The scope of this section is therefore rather more modest: all that is intended is a basic survey, to demonstrate the character of Demetrius' intellectual credentials, in order to provide a background to the account of Demetrius' writings and career presented in subsequent chapters.

The first section of Chapter 1 will look at Demetrius' Byzantine educational, literary and religious background—his primary context, as it were. In order to do so, it will touch upon his context in terms of the wider context of Byzantine educational and scholarly history, as well as the Byzantine theological tradition. It will also look at more tangible evidence of Demetrius' personal interests, such as manuscripts he is known to have owned and his own expression of interest in certain writers. It is hoped that this will help to contextualise Demetrius as a scholar in the Byzantine tradition.

The second part of Chapter 1 will then look at the western influences on Demetrius, the 'secondary context' for which Demetrius is, perhaps, rather more renowned. Demetrius' acquaintance with western material can be most clearly demonstrated through his own translations. However, other translations available at the time are also of relevance, and will thus be included, while it is also important to bear in mind that the material translated may only represent a fraction of Demetrius' knowledge of western thought.

## CHAPTER ONE

### DEMETRIUS' INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND

#### 1.1. THE PRIMARY CONTEXT: THE BYZANTINE BACKGROUND

Demetrius was born c. 1324, in Thessalonica.<sup>1</sup> His formal education ceased following the death of his father in 1341, when he, as the eldest son, was required to take on responsibilities for the rest of the family.<sup>2</sup> His formative education thus took place in Thessalonica, the second city of Byzantium, in the first half of the fourteenth century.

The 'Early Palaeologan (sic) Renaissance'<sup>3</sup>—a period of heightened scholarly activity, particularly of engagement with the classical tradition—is often considered to have been drawing to a close by the 1320s.<sup>4</sup> However, to consider Demetrius as belonging to a period of decline, in the shadow of this 'renaissance', would be misleading. It may be quite reasonable to speak of changing preoccupations in scholarly activity over the course of the fourteenth century, with increased interest in theological rather than secular scholarly pursuits. It is also quite reasonable to suggest that difficult political

---

<sup>1</sup> Tinnefeld, F., *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I, übersetzt und erläutert von Franz Tinnefeld*, (Hiersemann, Stuttgart, 1981), p. 5, with notes, esp. note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Mercati, G., *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV*, *SeT* 56 (1931), pp. 359 f. On his father's career and death, see Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, pp. 5 f.; also Laurent, V., 'L'assaut avorté de la Horde d'Or contre l'empire byzantin', *REB* 18 (1960), pp. 145–162.

<sup>3</sup> As enshrined in Edmund Fryde's recent book (Fryde, E., *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance (1261–c. 1360)*, (Brill, Leiden-Boston-Köln, 2000)). See also Ševčenko, I., 'The Palaeologan Renaissance', in Treadgold, W. (ed.), *Renaissances before the Renaissance. Cultural revivals of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1984), pp. 144–171. On Byzantine 'renaissances' more generally, see Tinnefeld, F., 'Das Niveau der abendländischen Wissenschaft aus der Sicht gebildeter Byzantiner im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert', *BF* 6 (1979), pp. 241–280, at p. 248, note 9; also Meyendorff, J., *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: A Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century* (St Vladimir's Seminary Press, New York, 1989) (= reprint of edition by Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson (Wilson, N., *Scholars of Byzantium*, Revised Edition (Duckworth, London, 1996)) and Fryde, *Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, would both give this impression.

and economic conditions would have had an effect on such pursuits. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to over-emphasise these factors in dealing with the mid-fourteenth century: a somewhat greater emphasis on theology is not necessarily a sign of degeneration, nor indeed does it mean that classical learning died out; while the level of continuity in intellectual and cultural life on many levels should not be underestimated.<sup>5</sup>

The Thessalonica Demetrius grew up in can be understood as still a thriving cultural centre.<sup>6</sup> That the 'Palaiologan renaissance' had considerable impact there can be illustrated by noting that both Thomas Magistros (d. 1347)<sup>7</sup> and Demetrius Triklinios (d. 1340),<sup>8</sup> major figures of the 'renaissance', were closely connected with the city. Magistros was particularly noted as a teacher. Philotheos Kokkinos, the future patriarch, opponent of Demetrius Kydones, and prolific writer,<sup>9</sup> was among his pupils. Many others were also active in Thessalonica in some way in the 1320s, 1330s and 1340s. Isidore Boucheiras, another future patriarch, also taught there, and probably taught Demetrius.<sup>10</sup> Although he leaves no significant writings, Isidore is portrayed by Philotheos Kokkinos as a highly able man;<sup>11</sup> that Kantakuzenos chose him as patriarch in 1347 supports this. Nil Kabasilas, future metropolitan of Thessalonica, is more clearly attested as Demetrius' teacher;<sup>12</sup> he became one of the leading Orthodox theologians of the cen-

<sup>5</sup> Ševčenko, I., 'Society and Intellectual Life in the 14th Century', in idem, *Collected Studies: Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium* (Variorum, London, 1981), at p. 92, for example, sees the roots of decline as falling in the second half of the 14th century, with its most pronounced features only arising in the 15th century.

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. Nicol, D.M., 'Thessalonica as a Cultural Centre in the Fourteenth Century', in idem, *Studies in Late Byzantine History and Prosopography* (Variorum, London, 1986); also Tinnefeld, F., 'Intellectuals in Late Byzantine Thessalonike', *DOP* 57 (2003), pp. 153–172.

<sup>7</sup> Fryde, *Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, esp. pp. 295–305.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, esp. Chp. 13.

<sup>9</sup> Philotheos produced, among other writings, numerous dogmatic and hagiographic works, edited in Kaimakes, D.V., (ed.), *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινοπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου Δογματικά Ἔργα* (Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν, Thessalonica, 1983) and Tsames, D.G. (ed.), *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινοπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου Ἀγιολόγια Ἔργα* (Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν, Thessalonica, 1985). On Philotheos, see below, esp. pp. 230–239; also PLP 11917.

<sup>10</sup> Demetrius' Letter L43 is addressed to Isidore, and suggests a teacher/pupil relationship. See also below, p. 165, and PLP 3140.

<sup>11</sup> In his *Life of Isidore*: Tsames, *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινοπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου Ἀγιολόγια Ἔργα*, pp. 329–423. See also Nicol, 'Thessalonica as a Cultural Centre in the Fourteenth Century', p. 127.

<sup>12</sup> By Demetrius himself in his *Apologia I* (Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 391; on the *Apologia I*, see below, pp. 44 f., and *passim*) and in the as yet unedited *Defence of Thomas Aquinas against Nil Kabasilas*, Vat. gr. 614, fol. 110<sup>r</sup> (see below, pp. 47 f.), as noted in Mergiali, S., *L'enseignement et les lettres pendant l'époque des Palaeologues (1261–1453)* (Ἐταιρεία τῶν Φίλων τοῦ Λαοῦ, Athens, 1996), p. 115, note 549. On Nil, see PLP 10102.

tury, publishing numerous treatises, most notably the treatise *On the Holy Spirit*.<sup>13</sup> His nephew, Nicholas Chamaëtos Kabasilas,<sup>14</sup> friend and contemporary of Demetrius, also distinguished himself as an Orthodox writer, particularly with his works *The Life in Christ*<sup>15</sup> and *Commentary on the Eucharist*,<sup>16</sup> although his output also included more secular works.

The figures mentioned so far as active in Thessalonica in the 1320s, 1330s and 1340s have been mentioned because of their close connections to Demetrius. But there are numerous other examples which indicate that Thessalonica continued to support considerable educational and scholarly activity in this period. In the field of law, Matthew Blastares and Constantine Harmenopoulos deserve particular mention: Blastares compiled his *SynAGMA Canonum* in Thessalonica in 1335,<sup>17</sup> Harmenopoulos his *Procheiron Nomon* in 1345.<sup>18</sup> Barlaam was also active in Thessalonica, as well as in Constantinople;<sup>19</sup> he lectured there on Pseudo-Dionysius, at the behest of the future emperor, John Kantakuzenos. Kantakuzenos too is an important figure in this respect.<sup>20</sup> Himself a prominent writer, known particularly for his *History*<sup>21</sup> but also for theological works,<sup>22</sup> he had strong connections

<sup>13</sup> Edited in three parts: Candal, E., *Nilus Cabasilas et theologia S. Thomae De Processione Spiritus Sancti. Novum e Vaticanis codicibus subsidium ad historiam theologiae byzantinae saeculi XIV plenius elucidandam*, SeT 116 (Vatican City, 1945), pp. 188–385; Kislas, P. -T., *Nil Cabasilas et son traité sur le Saint-Esprit, Introduction, édition critique, traduction et notes* (thèse de doctorat, Université de Strasbourg-II, Strasbourg, 1998); and idem, *Nil Cabasilas: Sur le Saint-Esprit* (Les Éditions du CERF, Paris, 2001). For details of Nil's other works, see Kislas, *Nil Cabasilas: Sur le Saint-Esprit*, pp. 59–71.

<sup>14</sup> PLP 30539.

<sup>15</sup> Greek edition: PG 150, cols. 491–726. English translation: deCatanzaro, C.J. (trans.), *On the Life in Christ: Nicholas Cabasilas* (St Vladimir's Seminary Press, New York, 1974).

<sup>16</sup> Greek edition: PG 150, cols. 367–491. English translation: Hussey, J. & McNulty, P. (trans.), *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy: by Nicholas Cabasilas* (S.P.C.K., London, 1960).

<sup>17</sup> Beck, H.-G., *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Beck, Munich, 1959), p. 786; Fryde, *Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, pp. 303 f.

<sup>18</sup> Fryde, *Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, pp. 304 f.

<sup>19</sup> For Barlaam, see PLP 2284; on his presence in Thessalonica: Tinnefeld, 'Das Niveau der abendländischen Wissenschaft', p. 268, note 84.

<sup>20</sup> On Kantakuzenos, see esp. Nicol, D.M., *The Reluctant Emperor. A Biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine Emperor and Monk, c. 1295–1383* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996).

<sup>21</sup> Greek edition: Schopen, J. (ed.), *Ioannis Cantacuzeni Eximperatoris Historiarum Libri IV*, CSHB, Bonn, 1828–1832. German translation (to date, only of first two books): Fatouras, G. & Krischer, T. (eds. & trans.), *Johannes Kantakuzenos, Geschichte* (Hiersemann, Stuttgart, 1982–). English translation (only covers part of Book IV): Miller, T.S. (ed. & trans.), *The History of John Cantacuzenos (Book IV): Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1975).

<sup>22</sup> See below, p. 260.

with Thessalonica, and patronised many Thessalonican intellectuals of the period, including Demetrius.<sup>23</sup>

In order to give some idea of the content of Demetrius' education, however, it is clearly not enough simply to say that Thessalonica was a centre of scholarship at the time, without fleshing out the implications of this at least a little. Demetrius states that he had a good education and demonstrated considerable flair.<sup>24</sup> His writings and translations, discussed throughout this study, attest to his ability; but what, specifically, would he have encountered in the course of his basic education?

The Byzantine system of secular education evolved considerably over the centuries, and the content of the standard curriculum at any point of time can be a matter of contention. However, certain general points can be made regarding its constituents. It placed great emphasis, at a basic level, on grammar, poetry and rhetoric; at a higher level, mathematics and philosophy were studied. The system, moreover, was firmly based in the classical tradition, with emphasis on a corpus of standard authors in different fields: Homer and Hesiod, for example, in the case of poetry; Demosthenes and Libanios, as well as handbooks such as that of Hermogenes, for rhetoric; Aristotle and Plato, with standard commentators such as Alexander of Aphrodisias, for philosophy; Euclid for mathematics; and so on. Demetrius' education would have largely been designed around this model of secular education.<sup>25</sup>

It is also possible to be somewhat more forthcoming about the probable nature and extent of Demetrius' classical background. In part, this is because of Thessalonica's role in the 'Palaiologan Renaissance', which opens up wide possibilities with regard to the availability of both teaching and texts. The preceding decades had seen extensive editing and commenting on classical material, in many cases with evident intent to make use of it in education. Mergiali<sup>26</sup> and Constantinides,<sup>27</sup> both of whom have a particular interest in educational processes, demonstrate how scholarly activities and education

<sup>23</sup> On Demetrius' connections with Kantakuzenos: below, 51 ff. On Kantakuzenos' patronage of Demetrius' translations: below, p. 16, p. 150.

<sup>24</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 359, 13–19.

<sup>25</sup> For various accounts of the constituent parts of Byzantine education according to different sources, see e.g. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, pp. 24 ff. (although less specific to the late period); Ševčenko, 'Society and Intellectual Life in the 14th Century', p. 89, note 69, on what could be expected as standard reading for the 'rank and file'; Constantinides, C.N., *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204–ca. 1310)* (Cyprus Research Centre, Nicosia, 1982), pp. 1 f.

<sup>26</sup> Mergiali, *L'enseignement et les lettrés*.

<sup>27</sup> Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium*.

interacted in the Palaiologan era, while Fryde<sup>28</sup> and Wilson<sup>29</sup> provide more detailed accounts of the range of scholarly projects undertaken. Demetrius, growing up in Thessalonica in this period, would potentially have had direct access to a wider range of classical material than may have been the case for Byzantine students in previous centuries.

That this was the case is supported by evidence from Demetrius' own writings. In poetry, for example, he shows knowledge of the principal poets and dramatists of the curriculum: Homer, Hesiod,<sup>30</sup> Aeschylus, Euripides, Sophocles, Aristophanes and Pindar, Theognis and Theokritos. In rhetoric, he is, unsurprisingly, particularly indebted to Libanios<sup>31</sup> and Demosthenes;<sup>32</sup> but Isokrates, Lucian, Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil also appear as models for rhetorical composition. With regard to history, Demetrius is familiar with Herodotus and Thucydides.<sup>33</sup> He clearly has an education in mathematics.<sup>34</sup> In philosophy, he shows knowledge of—and enthusiasm for—Plato and Aristotle. This list is far from exhaustive; but it demonstrates that Demetrius' Byzantine secular education was comprehensive—that he was very much a scholar in the Byzantine mode—and that he benefited from the achievements of recent generations of scholars.<sup>35</sup>

However, there is another important aspect to Thessalonica's cultural heritage in this period: religious or theological developments.<sup>36</sup> Reading the 'renaissance' of the period without it is likely to present a distorted picture.

<sup>28</sup> Fryde, *Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, passim.

<sup>29</sup> Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, esp. ch. 12.

<sup>30</sup> In his *Apologia I*, Demetrius alludes to the practice of using Homer and Hesiod as a literary exercise, when he compares it to the intentions of his Latin teacher in giving him Aquinas to read. See Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 362 f., 6 ff. On Demetrius' learning of Latin, see below, pp. 13 ff.

<sup>31</sup> See also below, p. 11.

<sup>32</sup> In various letters, Demetrius shows high regard for Demosthenes, earnestly recommending him as the model of good style to younger scholars: e.g. L2 and L191. See also Mergiali, *L'enseignement et les lettrés*, p. 119.

<sup>33</sup> Regarding Herodotus, see below, p. 12. In L33, Demetrius comments that if he had not read Thucydides, he would not even have heard of the Peloponnese (Loenertz, R.-J., *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, SeT 186 (Vatican City, 1956), p. 64: 33, 30 f.).

<sup>34</sup> See below, p. 11.

<sup>35</sup> Ševčenko is somewhat sceptical as to the contemporary standards indicated by the range of classical authors referred to in Demetrius' writings (Ševčenko, 'Society and Intellectual Life in the 14th Century', p. 89). However, within the standards of his time, Demetrius was clearly well educated: comparison with Constantinides' description of different levels of education (Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium*, pp. 151–158) demonstrates how Demetrius' range of knowledge conforms to what could be expected at the high end of Byzantine education.

<sup>36</sup> On the relationship between secular and religious elements, see Tinnefeld, 'Intellectuals in Late Byzantine Thessalonike', pp. 154 f.

Byzantine society rarely produced truly secular cultural elements, and this period is no exception. Many of the major figures of the ‘renaissance’—Planudes and Thomas Magistros, for example—were also monks. Another monk, Joseph the Philosopher (d. c. 1330), combined religious and secular worlds in his *Encyclopaedia*, which brought together both Christian and ‘pagan’ learning: rhetoric, physical and biological sciences, logical treatises, mathematics, astronomy.<sup>37</sup> Blastares and Harmenopoulos followed the ancient Byzantine legal tradition of happily working with both secular and religious canons. It would be difficult to make a meaningful division between the secular and religious in Byzantine cultural life; many scholars were interested in both, as their writings show, and the secular education of a young Byzantine could easily mediate both streams. Certainly Demetrius combined both.

Moreover, the early fourteenth century was very much a period in which religious sensibilities were of great importance. Whether one sees it as a period of spiritual revival, or simply a continuation of well-established traditions of theology and spirituality, it is clear that religious understanding was significant to fourteenth-century Byzantines, however elevated their status.<sup>38</sup> The ‘hesychast’ controversy highlights this particularly clearly,<sup>39</sup> but it by no means exhausts the range of possibilities. Thessalonica in the 1320s, 1330s and 1340s, with its proximity to Athos and close contact with influential itinerant spiritual leaders such as Gregory of Sinai, Gregory Palamas and Kallistos, as well as the extended presence of Isidore Boucheiras, was well placed to absorb and develop the religious trends and tensions of the time.<sup>40</sup>

Given this, the religious influences on Demetrius must also be considered. However, they are perhaps more difficult to quantify than the more secular: biblical and patristic tradition can be absorbed in numerous ways in a Christian society—through liturgy, through personal devotions, through education, as part of a basic cultural awareness. The role of formal education in this is difficult to determine. How did Isidore Boucheiras and Nil Kabasilas, for

<sup>37</sup> Idem, p. 155, with notes; also Nicol, ‘Thessalonica as a Cultural Centre in the Fourteenth Century’, p. 127; Fryde, *Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, esp. pp. 208 ff.

<sup>38</sup> See, e.g., Meyendorff, J., ‘Spiritual Trends in Byzantium in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries’, in Underwood, P.A. (ed.), *The Kariye Dyami, Vol. IV* (Routledge, New York, 1975) pp. 95–106; & idem., ‘Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century: Spiritual and Intellectual Legacy’, *DOP* 42 (1988), pp. 156–165.

<sup>39</sup> On the hesychast controversy, see below, pp. 221–226.

<sup>40</sup> See, e.g., Meyendorff, J., *A Study of Gregory Palamas* (St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, New York, 1998), pp. 34 f. (= reprint of 2nd Edition (1974) of G. Lawrence’s 1964 translation of Meyendorff, J., *Introduction à l’étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1959)).

example, contribute to Demetrius’ religious development? It is impossible to say. It may be that Demetrius’ theological interests developed alongside his secular education, and were promoted by his teachers; but it may also be that they came from other influences, and perhaps developed at a later stage.<sup>41</sup>

It is difficult, therefore, to determine the exact background to Demetrius’ biblical and patristic studies. In his writings, Demetrius frequently turns to the authority of the Bible, the councils, and the fathers. He gives Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom and Cyril as primary Greek authorities.<sup>42</sup> However, it is difficult at times to say whether he studied them in depth, studied particular books, or in some cases relied on florilegia. At times he may even know them through western writers, such as Aquinas, who repeatedly refer to eastern patristic writers. However, Demetrius’ secular learning cannot be taken in isolation from his religious interests; nor can it be said that his education was basically classical and secular, with the religious aspects a simple cultural addendum. Even if Demetrius acquired his theological education through channels other than those of formal education, he applied a scholarly approach to Christian texts and history.

Up to this point, the discussion has tended simply to place Demetrius within general trends of Byzantine cultural and intellectual life of the period. Some reference has been made to evidence from his own writings and life, but only to establish that they tie in with these general trends. However, there are also tangible pieces of evidence which demonstrate Demetrius’ connection with classical and patristic authors.

First, manuscript evidence shows Demetrius’ interest in mathematics and astronomy: he owned manuscripts containing works of Proclus, Ptolemy and Euclid,<sup>43</sup> and himself wrote scholia on Euclid and a short mathematical piece.<sup>44</sup> Manuscript evidence also shows links with Libanios: Demetrius had in his possession one of the most important manuscripts of Libanios,<sup>45</sup> thus demonstrating how, himself a prolific letter-writer, Demetrius valued Libanios as a model. A third particular connection shown by the manuscripts

<sup>41</sup> It is possible that Demetrius also had family connections in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. See below, p. 185.

<sup>42</sup> See below, pp. 96 f.

<sup>43</sup> Laur. 28. 1 and Vat. gr. 604. See Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 168, p. 17; also Fryde, *Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, pp. 341 f., p. 383.

<sup>44</sup> Respectively, Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, I*, p. 67, 1.7.7 & 1.7.6.

<sup>45</sup> Vat. gr. 83. See Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 156 f., 1. Apparently folio 1<sup>r</sup> contains a note in Demetrius’ hand. A selection of Demetrius’ letters also regularly appears in conjunction with works of Libanios (see Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 127 ff.), although the connection is presumably largely one of genre and convenience.

is with John Chrysostom: Demetrius owned a manuscript of his works,<sup>46</sup> and also composed a brief encomium in Chrysostom's honour.<sup>47</sup> This clearly demonstrates that Demetrius had access to some of Chrysostom's writings in full form, not just through florilegia, and that he held Chrysostom in great esteem.

To this evidence can also be added cases in Demetrius' writings which speak of acquisition and circulation of manuscripts.<sup>48</sup> For example, one of his letters<sup>49</sup> speaks of sending his correspondent a copy of Demosthenes. A series of letters deals with the acquisition of a Plato manuscript through the mediation of Manuel II, and other letters mention the acquisition of another such manuscript through the Despot Theodore.<sup>50</sup> When Demetrius died, a manuscript of Plato was amongst his books, as was a manuscript containing the four gospels, the psalter and '*alia principalia ecclesie Grecorum*', and a copy of Herodotus.<sup>51</sup> That Demetrius was also well acquainted with Aristotle is indicated by his sensitive use of the Aristotelian originals in his translations of Aquinas.<sup>52</sup>

This specific evidence—from the manuscripts themselves and from internal comments—is of particular use in that it enables some credibility to be given to the idea that Demetrius' studies were indeed wide-ranging and involved direct and in-depth knowledge of at least some classical and patristic authors.

What should also be emphasised, in terms of the Greek tradition, is that Demetrius' knowledge of material quite evidently was not confined to material from ancient history. He himself indicates this in the case of theological material, when he says that he has read up on writings of the past five

<sup>46</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 167, 14. Demetrius also recommended one of the works found in the manuscript, *To an Unbelieving Father*, to Manuel II Palaiologos, as is shown by a letter of Manuel to Demetrius sent in the 1390s. See Dennis, G.T., *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus: text, translation and notes* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., 1977), pp. 66–68.

<sup>47</sup> For the text, see Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 158. See also Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, I*, p. 67, 1.7.4.

<sup>48</sup> For references, see Ševčenko, 'Society and Intellectual Life in the 14th Century', p. 91, note 82a.

<sup>49</sup> L2.

<sup>50</sup> Ševčenko, 'Society and Intellectual Life in the 14th Century', p. 91, note 84.

<sup>51</sup> Loenertz, R.-J., *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, II*, Set 208 (Vatican City, 1960), pp. 453 f., nos. 2 & 3.

<sup>52</sup> See Moutsopoulos, E., 'Influences aristotéliennes dans les traductions des œuvres de saint Thomas par Démétrius Cydonès (XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)', in Sideri, S. & Photopoulou, P. (eds.), *Δημητρίου Κυδώνη: Θώμα Ἀκινάτου· Σοῦμμα Θεολογική, ἔξελληνισθεῖσα, II*, 16 (Athens, 1979), pp. 7–10.

hundred years.<sup>53</sup> Concrete evidence of this is available in Demetrius' evident acquaintance with John Bekkos' *Epigraphae*.<sup>54</sup> A degree of acquaintance with more recent Byzantine histories is to be expected, and is supported by Demetrius' references to the history of Byzantine relations with Bulgaria and Serbia,<sup>55</sup> as well as his account of episodes of Latin involvement in the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>56</sup> Although it is very difficult to quantify Demetrius' knowledge of more recent Greek literature, it is important to emphasise that this would have also been very much part of his heritage.

The intention of this section has been to present the general intellectual and cultural context of Thessalonica in the first half of the fourteenth century, and to establish Demetrius' place within it. It is hoped that this has established the importance of both secular and religious intellectual elements to Demetrius' society and to his own upbringing. However, although this is Demetrius' formative cultural context, to this must be added a further, extremely important influence: that gained from western sources. The second section of this chapter therefore turns to this.

## 1.2. THE SECONDARY CONTEXT: WESTERN TEXTS

### 1.2.1. *Demetrius' Latin Studies*

Before presenting the evidence regarding Demetrius' knowledge of western writings, however, mention should be made of how Demetrius learnt Latin in the first place. In one of his writings, the *Apologia I*, he gives his own version of what brought about his decision to learn Latin, and then his decision to translate.<sup>57</sup> This description is fascinating not only because it is remarkable that such an account exists (in the cases of Prochoros Kydones and Planudes, both also well known as translators, there is no comparable evidence as to how, when and why they learnt the language), but also because of the scenario it describes. This description, as will be seen later in this thesis, has numerous implications for the intellectual climate of the period.

Demetrius starts his account in the *Apologia I* by describing how, when he entered service under John Kantakuzenos in 1347, his duties required that he deal with many petitioners, including foreigners, amongst whom

<sup>53</sup> See below, p. 119.

<sup>54</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 159. On Bekkos, see Gill, J., 'John Beccus, Patriarch of Constantinople', *Byzantina* 7 (1975), pp. 253–266; Fryde, *Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, pp. 309–313.

<sup>55</sup> Below, pp. 63–67.

<sup>56</sup> Below, pp. 72–75.

<sup>57</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 360, 39–p. 363, (1)29.

many westerners: ambassadors, merchants, mercenaries, but also noblemen, travelling—as Demetrius seems to describe it—as tourists.<sup>58</sup> Roman (i.e. Byzantine) emperors, according to Demetrius, have tended to treat the latter with great honour, particularly since they can turn out to be rather important leaders, travelling incognito; and Demetrius was charged with seeing to the needs of such people.<sup>59</sup> In doing so, Demetrius often had problems communicating, either because interpreters were not available, or because they were incompetent—or because they were not capable of dealing with the level of the conversation: many of the westerners concerned were of a high intellectual calibre, and the interpreters not able to give Demetrius an accurate account of their conversation.<sup>60</sup>

In these circumstances, Demetrius saw but one way to solve the problem: to learn Latin himself.<sup>61</sup> With this in mind, he went in search of teachers and books, found himself a highly capable instructor—a Dominican, it would seem<sup>62</sup>—and set about his studies.<sup>63</sup> Before long, this attracted attention, and criticism; but despite the scepticism of his detractors, Demetrius made rapid progress.<sup>64</sup> His teacher then gave him the *Summa Contra Gentiles* to read, which so impressed him that that he decided to try his hand at translating, in order to share what he had read with his friends. He showed parts of his work to the emperor, who welcomed it (saying that it would ‘benefit the common cause of the Hellenes’<sup>65</sup>) and encouraged him to continue, with the result that Demetrius translated the entire *Summa Contra Gentiles*, and much more besides.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 39–44.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 44–49.

<sup>60</sup> ἢ τοῦ τὰ λεγόμενα παρ’ αὐτῶν μετοίσοντος μὴ παρόντος, ἢ τὴν γλῶτταν οὐκ ἀκριβοῦντος, ἢ καὶ τῆς τῶν νοημάτων λεπτότητος οὐκ ἐφικνουμένου· ἦσαν γὰρ ἐκείνων πολλοὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῶν σεμνοτέρων ἀντιποιοῦμενοι καὶ πονεῖν πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν καὶ διαλέξιν ἀρχοντες, ὥστ’ ἠναγκαζόμενοι τοῖς ἐρμηνεύσιν ἐπιτιμᾶν ὡς ἂν οὐκ ἀρκούντως τὰ λεγόμενα μεταφέρουσιν, καὶ ταύτη ποῦ τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης ἀμαρτάνειν αἰτίους μοι γινομένοις. Ibid., 50–56.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 56–61.

<sup>62</sup> Here, Demetrius describes his teacher simply as belonging to some kind of group dedicated to God (τῶν γὰρ ἱερωμένων ἦν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῶν δι’ αὐτὸν τὰς ἐν μέσῳ καταλιπόντων φροντίδας, καὶ τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐκλεξαμένων μερίδα. Ibid., 65 ff.). However, later in the *Apolo-gia I* Demetrius mentions having dealings specifically with Dominicans (καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι παρ’ αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐτερείας ἦσαν Ὁμῶ: Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 364, 34 f.), and it is significant that his teacher gave him the *Summa Contra Gentiles* to work on.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 61–78.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 79–97.

<sup>65</sup> πολλὸν κέρδος προλέγων ἐντεῦθεν ἔσεσθαι τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ibid., (1)22 f.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 98–(1)29.

There is much that can be said about this account of Demetrius’ learning of Latin, and the use to which he put it. This passage will be returned to, in more detail, on various occasions. However, since the question of how, when and where Demetrius learnt Latin quite evidently lies at the root of any questions of Latin influence on Demetrius, it was thought best to include at this point a brief summary of Demetrius’ presentation of how this came about.

### 1.2.2. *The Evidence*

While it is often difficult to identify specific Greek texts known to Demetrius, although there is much that can be guessed at, when it comes to western cases in many instances it is possible to be more precise, because the texts Demetrius translated constitute tangible evidence. The intention in this section is to use what is known of his translations, and those of contemporaries or earlier figures (particularly Planudes and Demetrius’ younger brother, Prochoros) which either clearly were or may have been available to him, to build up a picture of the direction of his interests.

The material used to present this picture comes from the work of earlier scholars who have worked on the phenomenon of Greek translations of Latin works: principally Rackl<sup>67</sup> and Mercati,<sup>68</sup> but also Papadopoulos,<sup>69</sup> Papathomopoulos,<sup>70</sup> Hunger,<sup>71</sup> Pertusi,<sup>72</sup> Nikitas<sup>73</sup> and Tinne-

<sup>67</sup> In a series of articles; in particular (regarding manuscript evidence) Rackl, M., ‘Die griechische Übersetzung der Summa theologiae des hl. Thomas von Aquin’, *BZ* 24 (1923/4), pp. 48–60 and idem, ‘Die griechischen Augustinerübersetzungen’, in *Miscellanea Fr. Ehrle*, *SeT* 37 (1924), pp. 1–38.

<sup>68</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*.

<sup>69</sup> Papadopoulos, S.G., *Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις Ὁμῶστικῶν ἔργων* (Φιλεκαπαιδευτικὴ Ἐταιρεία, Athens, 1967).

<sup>70</sup> Papathomopoulos, M., Tsavari, I. & Rigotti, G. (eds.), *Ἀγιοσπίνου Περὶ Τριάδος βίβλια πεντεκαίδεκα, ἅπερ ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν ἑλλάδα μετήνεγκε Μάξιμος ὁ Πλανύδης* (2 Vols) (Κέντρον Ἐκδόσεως Ἐργῶν Ἑλληνῶν Συγγραφέων, Athens, 1995).

<sup>71</sup> Hunger, H. (ed.), *Prochoros Kydones, Übersetzung von acht Briefen des Hl. Augustinus* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 1984) and idem (ed.), *Prochoros Kydones’ Übersetzungen von S. Augustinus, De libero arbitrio I 1–90 und Ps. –Augustinus De decem plagis Aegyptiorum* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 1990).

<sup>72</sup> Pertusi, A., ‘La fortuna di Boezio a Bisanzio’, in *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, vol. 3 (Annuaire de l’Institut de Philologie et d’Histoire Orientales et Slaves, Brussels, 1951), pp. 301–322 and idem, ‘Gli studi latini di Manuele Caleca e la traduzione greca del (de trinitate) di Boezio’, in *Miscellanea Giovanni Galbiati* (U. Hoepli, Milan, 1951), pp. 283–312.

<sup>73</sup> Nikitas, D.Z. (ed.), *Eine byzantinische Übersetzung von Boethius’ “De hypotheticis syllogismis”* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1982) and idem (ed.), *Boethius, De topicis differentibus* (καὶ οἱ βυζαντινῆς μεταφράσεις τῶν Μανουὴλ Ὀλοβάλου καὶ Προχόρου Κυδῶν) (Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, Athens, 1990).



feld.<sup>74</sup> Catalogue information has also been consulted. These various elements have been brought together here in order to give as developed an idea as possible of the various strands identifiable in Demetrius' intellectual background.

There are limitations to approaching the question in this way. On the one hand, as hinted in the introduction to this chapter, Demetrius' knowledge of western writings may have extended far beyond those he translated; on the other hand, in the case of other translations—even those made by his own brother—there is often uncertainty as to whether Demetrius knew the material at all, or, if he did, whether he knew it in full or in part. Dating is also a problem: in many cases there is no indication as to when Demetrius came across material he translated, thus making it difficult to say how his interests developed. However, it is hoped that what is presented here will be sufficient to give some indication of Demetrius' access to Latin material, and the lines of interest he followed up. Demetrius often attracts attention because of his translations of Aquinas, occasionally for his interest in Augustine: if nothing else, the following presentation should make clear that his activities went rather further than that.

For clarity, the survey which follows has been structured as follows: the key information regarding the translations has been kept in the main text, while the footnotes are intended to give a brief contextualisation of the original material and its central themes, together with a minimal amount of relevant manuscript information.

#### *The Writers/Texts*

*Aquinas* Demetrius' first translation from Latin into Greek, as mentioned above, was of Aquinas' *Summa Contra Gentiles*.<sup>75</sup> There may have

<sup>74</sup> Tinnefeld, F. (trans.), *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*, 5 vols (Hirseemann, Stuttgart, 1982–2003). Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, pp. 52–74 gives a summary of details of Demetrius' writings and translations.

<sup>75</sup> English translation: Pegis, A.C., Anderson, J.F., Bourke, V.J., O'Neil, C.J. (eds. & trans.), *Thomas Aquinas: Summa Contra Gentiles* (University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame (Ind.), 1975) (= Reprint of earlier edition *On the Truth of the Catholic Faith* (Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y., 1955–1957)). Henceforth = SCG.

The SCG was written probably between 1258/9–1264 (Weisheipl, J.A., *Friar Thomas D'Aquino: his life, thought and works* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1975), pp. 359 f.), and is designed to provide arguments in support of Christian beliefs, principally with a Moslem audience in mind. The first three books concentrate on arguments based on natural reason, since Moslems could not be expected to respond to Scriptural arguments: particular use is made instead of Aristotle and Averroes, authorities with whom educated Moslems would be familiar. But

been earlier attempts to translate Aquinas into Greek;<sup>76</sup> but in the absence of proof of this, Demetrius' work is of ground-breaking importance. The translation was completed by December 1354,<sup>77</sup> and seems to have enjoyed a reasonable level of popularity.<sup>78</sup>

Demetrius followed up his work on the SCG by turning to the larger *Summa Theologiae*.<sup>79</sup> Indications as to the timescale involved are not so precise as in the case of the SCG, but there is evidence that work was done on the Prima Pars in the late 1350s.<sup>80</sup> Further evidence for dating is not available. The full extent of the translation was, however, considerable: Demetrius translated the Prima Pars, the Prima Secundae and the Secunda Secundae.<sup>81</sup> As in the case of the SCG, the translation seems to have enjoyed reasonable levels of popularity.<sup>82</sup>

Aquinas also emphasises that certain Christian truths cannot be known through natural reason, but must come through revelation: Book IV concentrates on doctrines known through revelation, such as the Trinity and the Incarnation.

<sup>76</sup> Bernard Gui reported hearing of translations (unspecified) of Aquinas into Greek made by Guillaume Bernard de Gailhac, a Dominican active in Constantinople earlier in the fourteenth century (Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 11). There is no other evidence of this; but it may be that a minimal or abortive project for translation provided an impetus for continuing the project when a sufficiently able Greek translator became available.

<sup>77</sup> Vat. gr. 616 contains the translations of Books III and IV of the SCG, and has on folio 313<sup>v</sup> a note in Demetrius' hand stating that the work was completed on 24th December 1354; that the entire work (i.e. including Books I and II) was translated; and that Demetrius had been working on the translation for a year (Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 160; Papadopoulos, *Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις*, p. 37, 4). Papadopoulos suggests that the editorial process may have been longer, pushing Demetrius' work on the SCG back yet earlier (Papadopoulos, *Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις*, pp. 30 ff.).

<sup>78</sup> Given the number of known manuscripts. Taking the 14th and 15th century evidence given by Papadopoulos, for the 14th century, 3 manuscripts contain Books I & II, 3 Books III & IV (or most thereof), and 1 Book III. For the 15th century, 4 (possibly 5) manuscripts contain the whole work, another 3 Books I & II, and a seventh Book II. A further 14th/15th century manuscript contains substantial excerpts. See Papadopoulos, *Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις*, pp. 35–39. For the evidence for later centuries, *idem.*, pp. 39–42.

<sup>79</sup> English translation: Fathers of the English Dominican Province, *Thomas Aquinas: Summa Theologica* (5 Vols), Library of Christian Classics (Westminster, Md, 1981) (= reprint of Rev. Edition (1920) of 1911 edition). Henceforth = ST.

<sup>80</sup> Moscow ms. 228, which contains chapters 44–119 of the Prima Pars, was completed on 13th November 1358, according to a note on folio 318. Marc. gr. 146, which contains a translation of the full Prima Pars, has been dated to 1363. Papadopoulos, *Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις*, p. 49, 1 & 5.

<sup>81</sup> Papadopoulos, *Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις*, pp. 43 f.

<sup>82</sup> Again, to judge from the number of manuscripts, in which the Prima Pars figures more predominantly than other sections of the work. For the 14th century, Papadopoulos gives 6 manuscripts containing all or substantial parts of the Prima Pars, 2 containing substantial parts of the Secunda Secundae. For the 15th century, he gives at least 4 manuscripts of the Prima

Prochoros Kydones was also interested in Aquinas. He contributed to work on the *ST*: translations are known of 82 articles from the *ST*.<sup>83</sup> Although the manuscript evidence is complicated,<sup>84</sup> Prochoros' work on the *ST* seems to have been deliberately selective, apparently directed towards use in his own works.<sup>85</sup>

Returning to Demetrius, Demetrius also translated two shorter works of Aquinas: the letter *De rationibus fidei contra Saracenos, Graecos et Armenos ad Cantorem Antiochiae*,<sup>86</sup> and the *De articulis fidei et Ecclesiae sacramentis ad archiepiscopum Panormitanum*.<sup>87</sup> The first of these appears to have enjoyed more popularity than the second: not only are more manuscripts containing it known, but a second, anonymous, fourteenth-century translation is also known.<sup>88</sup>

Pars, 1 of the Prima Secundae, and 3 of the Secunda Secundae. A handful of manuscripts contain shorter extracts. Papadopoulos, *Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις*, pp. 49–51. For the evidence from later centuries, idem, pp. 51 f.

<sup>83</sup> 6 from the Tertia Pars, 76 from the Supplement. Mercati (Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 33 ff.) lists the articles.

<sup>84</sup> Vat. gr. 1102, like other manuscripts associated with Prochoros, is in a state of disorder, presumably as a result of the pressures he was placed under at the time of his condemnation by a synod convened by the Patriarch Philotheos in 1368. See Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, p. 737; also below, p. 163.

<sup>85</sup> Mercati (*Notizie*, pp. 1–18) suggests that Prochoros made selections for use in his own work; Beck, H., 'Der Kampf um den thomistischen Theologiebegriff in Byzanz', *Divus Thomas*, 13 (1935), pp. 1–22, at p. 19, emphasises Prochoros' use of extensive passages of Aquinas.

<sup>86</sup> Latin: Editio Leonina, vol. 40, B, 57–73. English translation: Fehlner, P.D.M. (trans.), *Thomas Aquinas: De rationibus fidei contra Saracenos, Graecos et Armenos ad Cantorem Antiochenum* (New Bedford, 2002).

The *De rationibus fidei*, probably written in 1264, is a short work, written to answer questions raised by opponents of the faith, Moslem, Greek and Armenian. The questions involved vary between the crude and the sophisticated, and are given short, direct answers. As in the case of the SCG, Aquinas deals with the role and scope of arguments from reasoning: the use of reasoned arguments, he insists, is limited to explaining beliefs and showing that the contrary cannot be demonstrated, rather than demonstrating the truths of faith as such. See Fehlner, *De rationibus fidei*, ch. 2. Some mention is made of points of doctrine contentious between eastern and western theology (the *filioque*, purgatory), but these are not developed in detail: more attention is given to debate with Moslems than other Christians.

<sup>87</sup> Latin: Verardo, R., *S. Thomae Aquinatis doctoris angelici opuscula theologica*, Vol I (Marietti, Turin, 1954), pp. 141–151.

The *De articulis fidei* is a brief, direct and practical catechetical work. The first section discusses two groups of six articles of faith, the first six relating to Christ's divinity, the second six to Christ's humanity. The second section discusses the seven sacraments, both individually and together. Some mention is made condemning the errors of the Greeks, in particular their denial of the *filioque*.

<sup>88</sup> On the manuscripts of both translations, see Papadopoulos, *Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις*, pp. 56–60.

As well as being involved with translation of the *ST*, Prochoros was also involved in translating other texts of Aquinas, namely the short *De mundi Aeternitate*<sup>89</sup> and the prooimion to Aquinas' commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*.<sup>90</sup>

Amongst Demetrius' translations there is also a translation of chapters 53 and 54 of Bernard Gui's *Vita s. Thomae Aquinatis*.<sup>91</sup> The two chapters concerned give a fairly exhaustive list of Aquinas' works.<sup>92</sup> This opens up great areas of speculation, since it suggests awareness of and interest in the huge range of Aquinas' output.

Two further fourteenth-century translations of Aquinas should also be taken into consideration, although their attribution is unclear. Both<sup>93</sup> are

<sup>89</sup> Spiazzi, R.M., *Divi Thomae Aquinatis doctoris angelici opuscula philosophica* (Marietti, Turin, 1954), pp. 105–108. The proximity of the translation to other material attributable to Prochoros in Vat. gr. 1102 suggests that it too was translated by him. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 33.

Apparently written in 1270 in response to opinions voiced by John Pecham (Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino*, pp. 286–288, 385), the text is a discussion of whether it is possible that the world be eternal. Aquinas argues that there is no logical impossibility involved, since the nature of causality does not prevent there being an eternal creator and an eternal effect.

<sup>90</sup> On the connection with Prochoros: Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 33.

<sup>91</sup> Text in *Revue thomiste* 9 (1926) and 10 (1927), Supplement, pp. 216–222.

The translation is in Marc. gr. II 2, between Planudes' translation of Augustine's *De Trinitate* and a copy of Demetrius' translation of the SCG. Papathomopoulos et al, *Αυγουστίνου Περί Τριάδος βιβλία πεντεκαίδεκα*, LXXXIII. The manuscript gives as 1365 the date for the completion of the copy of the *De Trinitate*. Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, I*, 71, 2.11, states that attribution of the translation to Demetrius is convincingly proven by Mioni.

<sup>92</sup> Comparison with Weisheipl's catalogue (Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino*, pp. 358–405) demonstrates this. The list starts with the major works: the *Super libros sententiarum*, the *ST* and the SCG. In the case of the *ST*, reference is made particularly to the role played by the fathers in Aquinas' reasoning, while for the SCG particular justification is made of Aquinas' use of secular and pagan knowledge, which, Bernard insists, come from the same divine intellect as the truths of divine wisdom, which all *scienze* serve as handmaid. The list then gives Aquinas' scriptural commentaries (the *Catena aurea*, commentaries on John, Romans, Corinthians, Hebrews, Isaiah, Job, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Song of Songs, the Psalms and Matthew), a number of *Quaestiones*, and his works on Aristotle (on the *Physics*, the *Metaphysics*, three books of *De caelo et mundo*, *De generatione et corruptione*, the *Meteora*, the *De anima*, the *De sensu et sensato*, the *De memoria et reminiscencia*, the *Ethics*, the *Politics* and the *Posterior Analytics*. The *Liber de causis* is also included). Finally, chapter 54 lists just under forty *opuscula*: letters, treatises and the like, amongst which the *De rationibus fidei* and the *De articulis fidei*.

<sup>93</sup> Only one (14th century) manuscript is known for the translation of the *De spiritualibus creaturis*, and a minimal number of manuscripts for the *De potentia*, of which only one is 14th century and others only contain extracts, with a particular interest in article 1 of chapter 10 (see below, note 4). On both, see Papadopoulos, *Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις*, pp. 53–56.

from Aquinas' *Quaestiones Disputatae*: the *De potentia*<sup>94</sup> and the *De spiritualibus creaturis*.<sup>95</sup> There is no clear evidence linking them to either Prochoros or Demetrius, but their existence should be mentioned, since there may be a connection, and in any case the translations attest to further interest in Aquinas in the fourteenth century.

*Augustinian Texts* Interest in translating Augustine into Greek goes back to Maximus Planudes, a leading figure of the 'Palaiologan renaissance', known for his translations of western literature.<sup>96</sup> In the late thirteenth century, Planudes translated Augustine's *De Trinitate*, in the context of the pro-unionist policies of Michael VIII.<sup>97</sup> Demetrius owned a copy of this translation.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Spiazzi, R.M. (ed.), *Quaestiones Disputatae S. Thomae Aquinatis*, vol. 2 (Marietti, Turin/Rome, 1964–1965). English translation: Fathers of the English Dominican Province, *On the Power of God (Quaestiones disputatae de potentia Dei) by Saint Thomas Aquinas*, 3 Vols (Burns, Oates & Washbourne, London, 1932–1934).

The *De potentia Dei*, composed probably in Rome in 1265/6 (Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino*, p. 363) covers questions relating to God's power, creation and divine governance. Question 10 notably deals with relationship in the Trinity: article 4 stands out, being a lengthy treatment of the procession of the Spirit, with 24 objections and replies, using a range of explanations, from citation of the Athanasian creed, through mathematical and logical arguments, to extensive scriptural proofs. Particular attention is given to the issue of the legitimacy of adding to the creeds.

<sup>95</sup> In Spiazzi, *Quaestiones Disputatae*, vol. 2. English translation: Fitzpatrick, M.C. and Wellmuth, J.J. (trans.), *On Spiritual Creatures (de spiritualibus creaturis)* (Marquette University Press, Milwaukee, 1949).

The *De spiritualibus creaturis* is a shorter disputation, possibly dating to 1267–1268 in Viterbo. It is concerned with human souls and separated substances or angels, and in particular the nature of the human intellect as a faculty of the human soul. See Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino*, pp. 213 f., p. 364.

<sup>96</sup> On Planudes, see Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium*, chp. 4, part i; Mergiali, *L'enseignement et les lettrés*, pp. 34–42; Fryde, *Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, chapter 12 (esp. pp. 257–263 on his translation work).

<sup>97</sup> Part at least had been finished by September 1280 (Tinnefeld, 'Das Niveau der abendländischen Wissenschaft', p. 263, note 65). On the context, see also Fryde, *Early Palaeologan Renaissance*, pp. 261 f. Greek edition: Papatomopoulos et al, *Αὐγουστίνου Περὶ Τριάδος βιβλία πεντεκαίδεκα*. English translation: Hill, E. (trans.), *Saint Augustine: The Trinity* (New City Press, Brooklyn, N.Y., 1991).

The translation of the *De Trinitate* marks a breakthrough: previously, between the 5th and 13th centuries, Augustine's writings had been virtually unknown in the east. Planudes' translation is an evident attempt to remedy this. However, that the translation stands out as so remarkable also underlines the very limited knowledge of Augustine in the east. The *De Trinitate* is of particular importance in the dispute over the *filioque*, since it established the *filioque* firmly within the western tradition. See Kelly, J.N.D., *Early Christian Doctrines*, 5th edition (Revised) (A.C. Black, London, 1977), pp. 275 f.

<sup>98</sup> See Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 159 f.

One other translation of Augustinian material is attributed to Planudes, that of the pseudonymous, but popular, *De duodecim abusionum gradibus*.<sup>99</sup> Whether Demetrius had access to the text is unknown.<sup>100</sup>

Prochoros was also involved in translation of Augustinian material, although much of what he did only survives in fragmentary form.<sup>101</sup> As with Planudes, Prochoros' translations include both genuine and pseudonymous works.

Of the genuine works, Prochoros<sup>102</sup> translated a set of eight letters of

<sup>99</sup> PL 40, 1079–1088 and Hellmann, C., 'Pseudo-Cyprianus, De XII abusivis saeculi', in *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 34, 1 (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 31–60. On the manuscripts: Rackl, M., 'Die griechischen Augustinerübersetzungen', in *Miscellanea Fr. Ehrle*, SeT 37 (1924), pp. 1–38, at p. 18.

Known also as the *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*, the text is a short, moralising, popular work, listing twelve examples of 'abusive' behaviour in terms of Christian morality, with reference to Scripture.

Given the lack of earlier manuscript evidence and the great difference between this text and the *De Trinitate*, it might be questioned whether the translation should be attributed to Planudes. However, although there is room for doubt, this is not enough in itself to deny the attribution: lack of earlier manuscript evidence is not in itself conclusive, and Planudes' translations of more secular material were also somewhat eclectic, so the difference in intellectual level is no real barrier to authenticity. In any case, the *De duodecim abusionum gradibus* does have merits of its own, its attribution to Augustine would have recommended it further, and Planudes may have translated it simply because it was available rather than for any deeper reason.

For the background to the work, and evidence of its widespread popularity in the west, see Blumenkranz, B. 'La survie médiévale de saint Augustin à travers ses apocryphes', in *Augustinus Magister. Actes du congrès international augustinien, 21–24 septembre, 1954: vol. II, Communications* (Études augustiniennes, Paris, 1954), pp. 1005–1018, at pp. 1012 ff. and Hellmann, 'Pseudo-Cyprianus', pp. 1–30.

<sup>100</sup> The *milieu* of both Demetrius and Planudes does, however, make it possible. One would expect the *De duodecim abusionum gradibus* to circulate—like the *Soliliquia* and the *De decem verbis legis* (see below)—within a monastic rather than secular environment, and be present in monastic libraries. Both Planudes and Demetrius had connections with monastic institutions in Constantinople, making it quite possible that Demetrius could have come across the text if searching for Augustinian material.

<sup>101</sup> See above, p. 18, with note 84.

<sup>102</sup> Greek edition, with Latin facing text: Hunger, *Prochoros Kydones, Übersetzung von acht Briefen des Hl. Augustinus*. English translation: Teske, R.J. (tr.), *Augustine, Letters 1–99* (New City Press, Hyde Park, New York, 2001) and idem, *Augustine, Letters 100–155* (New City Press, Hyde Park, New York, 2003).

The letters translated were nos. 132, 137, 138, 92, 143, 28, 147 and 82 (147 and 82 survive only as fragments). The first six of these comprise a recognised collection, frequently circulated together (Hunger, *Prochoros Kydones, Übersetzung von acht Briefen des Hl. Augustinus*, p. 12). It was earlier thought that Demetrius and Prochoros collaborated on this translation, but Hunger concluded they were all the work of Prochoros (op. cit., pp. 9 ff.).

A number of the letters discuss the nature, veracity and value of scripture. Perhaps most striking, in terms of Prochoros' context (see below, p. 222, on the importance of the vision of

Augustine, the first part of Augustine's *De libero arbitrio*;<sup>103</sup> a fragment of the *De vera religione*;<sup>104</sup> and a fragment of the *De Beata Vita*.<sup>105</sup>

With regard to pseudonymous works, Prochoros also translated the *De decem verbis legis et decem plagis Aegyptiorum*.<sup>106</sup> Although none of the known manuscripts predates the sixteenth century, leaving fair scope for false attribution, in his recent edition of the translation Hunger concluded on linguistic grounds that the translation was the work of Prochoros.<sup>107</sup>

Demetrius' own translations of 'Augustine' are primarily of pseudonymous works. Two of these are complete: his translation of the *De Fide*

---

God in hesychast spirituality), is that there is also discussion (letters 92 and 147 (fragment)) of the nature of the vision of God; Augustine emphasises that the vision will not be with bodily eyes.

<sup>103</sup> Edition of the fragmentary Greek translation, with Latin facing text: Hunger, *Prochoros Kydones' Übersetzungen von S. Augustinus*. English translation: in Burleigh, J.H.S. (ed. & trans.), *Augustine: Earlier Writings* (SCM Press, London, 1953).

The *De libero arbitrio*, one of Augustine's anti-Manichean works, is in dialogue form and discusses the problem of the existence of evil.

<sup>104</sup> Latin text: PL 34 121–172. English translation: in Burleigh, *Augustine: Earlier Writings*. The fragment starts at the beginning of the work, and breaks off abruptly at line 45 of col. 129. See Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 28 f.

The *De vera religione*, one of Augustine's earlier works, presents the Christian faith as true religion, glimpsed in part by Plato, but truly revealed in Catholic doctrine and worship. The fragment includes a discussion of the relationship between the Catholic church and others—philosopher, heretics, schismatic, Jews—whose errors provide opportunity for stimulating true belief.

<sup>105</sup> Full Latin text (from PL 32) in Jolivet, R., *Œuvres de Saint Augustin, 1re Série. Opus-cule IV, 1: Dialogues philosophiques. I. Problèmes fondamentaux* (Desclée, De Brouwer, Paris, 1939), pp. 222–291. The section translated by Prochoros runs from p. 228, line 3 to p. 236, line 27 in Jolivet's edition.

Written during Augustine's time at Cassiacum (Brown, P., *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (Faber, London, 1967) pp. 110 f.), the *De Beata Vita* presents happiness as possession of God, which in turn is particularly identified with wisdom. This model of enjoyment of God as related to wisdom presents an interesting contrast with the vision of divine light emphasised by the hesychast tradition. Notably, the fragment translated mentions Augustine's encounter with people who thought that visible light was more worthy of worship than what is supremely divine; an idea he roundly rejects.

<sup>106</sup> Latin edition: CCSL 103, 403–413. Edition of Greek translation: in Hunger, *Prochoros Kydones' Übersetzungen von S. Augustinus*. The translation is found in Esphigmenou 115, together with Planudes' translation of the *De duodecim abusio-num gradibus* (see above).

The work, one of a series of sermons attributed to St Augustine (in its CCSL edition it is placed with the works of the fifth-century Caesarius or Arles), places the ten commandments alongside the ten plagues of Egypt, demonstrating that each plague represents the natural punishment for transgression of the corresponding commandment.

<sup>107</sup> Rackl, 'Die griechischen Augustinerübersetzungen', pp. 30 f.; Hunger, *Prochoros Kydones' Übersetzungen von S. Augustinus*, p. 10.

*ad Petrum*<sup>108</sup> (of Fulgentius of Ruspe) and the anonymous *Soliliquia sive Monologia*.<sup>109</sup> Of these, the first is known in an autograph copy in Demetrius' hand,<sup>110</sup> while the second, attributed to Demetrius in Vat. gr. 607,<sup>111</sup> is also found in numerous monastic libraries in the east, including Athos:<sup>112</sup> ironically, although perhaps unsurprisingly, given its nature, it evidently became popular in Orthodox circles. The third pseudonymous text translated by Demetrius, the *Liber Sententiarum* of Prosper of Aquitaine,<sup>113</sup> is incomplete,<sup>114</sup> covering 388 of the 392 sentences.

Besides this pseudonymous material, there are also some excerpts of genuine Augustinian material found amongst Demetrius' translations: a

---

<sup>108</sup> Latin edition: in Fraipont, J. (ed.), *Sancti Fulgentii Episcopi Ruspensis Opera*, CCSL 91–91A (Brepols, Turnhout, 1968). English translation: Eno, R.B. (trans.), *Fulgentius: Selected Works* (Catholic University of America Press, Washington D.C., 1997).

The 6th century *De Fide ad Petrum* was widely accepted as genuine Augustine, and belongs to a group of texts which form a basis for the development of scholastic thought (see, e.g., Beumer, J., 'Zwischen Patristik und Scholastik. Gedanken zum Wesen der Theologie an Hand des Liber de fide ad Petrum des hl. Fulgentius von Ruspe', *Gregorianum* 23 (1942), pp. 326–347; Grillmeier, A., 'Fulgentius von Ruspe, De Fide ad Petrum und die Summa Sententiarum: Eine Studie zum Werden der fröhscholastischer Systematik', *Scholastik* 34 (1959), pp. 526–565; idem., 'Patristische Vorbilder fröhscholastischer Systematik. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Augustinismus', *Studia Patristica* 81 (1962), pp. 390–408). The text is a letter written to a certain Peter, who is planning a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and has asked for advice as to how to guard against the many eastern heresies. The response is a brief, direct, catechetical exposition of the outlines of the faith. There is great emphasis on the importance of baptism and inclusion in the 'Catholic' church for salvation. The *filiouque* is assumed.

<sup>109</sup> PL 40, 863–898.

The *Soliliquia sive Monologia* is a mystical text, written in simple, discursive Latin. Heavily Augustinian, its author is, to the best of my knowledge, unknown. The work is deeply meditative, concerned with a personal relationship with God; the writer, addressing God, acknowledges his absolute dependence on God's grace and expresses his desire for full knowledge of and communion with God in the beatific vision. There is much use of light imagery, although many other images are also employed.

<sup>110</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 162. For other manuscripts, see references in Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, I*, pp. 68 f., 2.1.5.

<sup>111</sup> Rackl, 'Die griechischen Augustinerübersetzungen', p. 23.

<sup>112</sup> Rackl, 'Die griechischen Augustinerübersetzungen', pp. 23 ff.

<sup>113</sup> Latin edition: CCSL 68a, 213–365.

The *Sentences* are a collection of brief excerpts from a variety of Augustine's writing and Prosper's own heavily Augustinian *Expositio psalmorum*. They are not arranged in any clear order (Lorenz, R., 'Der Augustinismus Prospers von Aquitanien', *ZKG* 73 (1962), pp. 217–252, at pp. 218 f.).

<sup>114</sup> A note in Demetrius' hand in Vat. gr. 1096, accompanying the translation, states that this was all that could be found, and that the manuscript itself presented difficulties. Demetrius appeals to any reader to supplement the text if possible. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 162.

series of extracts from Augustine's *In Iohannis Evangelium*<sup>115</sup> and five excerpts from Augustine's *Contra Iulianum*.<sup>116</sup>

An open question is whether the *Enchiridion* should be included here. Vat. gr. 604 contains translations of two short fragments from the *Enchiridion*.<sup>117</sup> Mercati hesitantly suggests that this is the hand—and translation—of Prochoros, although he also mentions a catalogue from Constantinople from 1565–1575, which speaks of translation of the *Enchiridion* by Demetrius. Whether either or both Prochoros and Demetrius worked on the *Enchiridion*,<sup>118</sup> or indeed whether either knew the book in full, is thus unclear.

*Boethius* Demetrius himself did not, apparently, translate any work of Boethius. However, translations of Boethius were made both before his time and by his brother Prochoros, and it is possible, if not probable, that Demetrius knew this material.

Interest in Boethius seems to have developed in the late thirteenth century. Manuel Holobolos has been identified as the probable translator of two works of Boethius: the *De topicis differentiis*<sup>119</sup> and the *De hypotheti-*

<sup>115</sup> Latin edition: CCSL 36. Greek edition: Mai, A. (ed.), *Novae patrum bibliothecae tomus primus* (Rome, 1844), pp. 414–427. English translation: Browne, H. (trans.), *Homilies on the Gospel according to St. John and his first Epistle* (John Henry Parker, Oxford, 1848–1849).

The excerpts translated cover John 16, 5–6 and 8–15, although with some gaps (see Rackl, 'Die griechischen Augustinerübersetzungen', pp. 27f.) and deal with the Holy Spirit, particularly in relation to the other persons of the Trinity. Again, the *filioque* is assumed. In discussing John 16:12 ('I have yet many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now'), Augustine, while suggesting that the Spirit may indeed reveal things beyond what the disciples were then capable of understanding, insists that it is presumptuous to attempt an explanation of Christ's meaning in this passage, beyond what is supported by authoritative scripture.

<sup>116</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 159, 162. Rackl, 'Die griechischen Augustinerübersetzungen', p. 26. Neither Mercati nor Rackl indicates which passages are concerned.

<sup>117</sup> The first fragment is from part way through ch. 8 to part way through ch. 11, the second from part way through ch. 17 to part way through ch. 19. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 32. The fragments correspond to PL 40, 235 f., 8–36 and PL 40, 239, 49–241, 33. English translation of the full text: Evans, E. (trans.), *Saint Augustine's Enchiridion* (S.P.C.K., London, 1953).

<sup>118</sup> That they may have worked on it independently is not impossible. Mercati points out that Prochoros apparently cites from both the SCG and Prosper's *Sentences* in his own Greek translation, not Demetrius', although Demetrius did translate both. Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 15 ff., pp. 30f.

<sup>119</sup> PL 64, 1173–1216. Edition of the Greek translation, with introduction: Nikitas, *Boethius, De topicis differentiis καὶ οἱ βυζαντινὲς μεταφράσεις*. English translation: Stump, E., *Boethius' De topicis differentiis, translated with notes and essays on the text* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1978).

Earlier attribution of the translation to Planudes has been rejected by Nikitas in favour of Holobolos. Nikitas also dates the translation to just before 1267. The translation covers books I, II and III, excluding the Exordium and book IV.

*cis syllogismis*.<sup>120</sup> A high level of interest is suggested by the fact that 22 manuscripts are known for this translation of the *De topicis differentiis*,<sup>121</sup> and that of them, 17 contain scholia, probably also the work of Holobolos.<sup>122</sup> A short work in Greek based on the *De topicis differentiis* was probably written by Pachymeres.<sup>123</sup>

Again towards the end of the thirteenth century, Planudes also contributed to this work on Boethius, translating—probably shortly before 1296—the famous *De Consolatione Philosophiae*,<sup>124</sup> and accompanying it with a short *Vita* of Boethius.<sup>125</sup>

For the fourteenth century, two further translations of Boethian material can be mentioned. The first is a second translation of Boethius' *De topicis differentiis*, made by Prochoros Kydones.<sup>126</sup> The second is Manuel Kalekas' translation of Boethius' *De Trinitate*.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>120</sup> Greek edition: Nikitas, *Eine byzantinische Übersetzung von Boethius' "De hypotheticis syllogismis"*. Nikitas dates the translation to c. 1267 (ibid., p. 50).

<sup>121</sup> Although the *De hypotheticis syllogismis* is known only from two manuscripts. Nikitas, *Eine byzantinische Übersetzung von Boethius' "De hypotheticis syllogismis"*, pp. 9–16.

<sup>122</sup> Nikitas, *Boethius, De topicis differentiis καὶ οἱ βυζαντινὲς μεταφράσεις*, CIV, CXXXVI.

<sup>123</sup> It is found in manuscripts together with other works of Pachymeres. Nikitas, *Boethius, De topicis differentiis καὶ οἱ βυζαντινὲς μεταφράσεις*, CXXXIX–CLIII (introduction) and pp. 233–239 (text).

<sup>124</sup> Latin and English in Stewart, H.E., Rand, E.K. and Tester, S.J. (trans.), *Boethius. Tractates. Consolation of Philosophy* (Second Edition) (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1973). Planudes' Greek translation: Bétant, E.A. (ed.), *De la Consolation de la Philosophie, traduction grecque de Maxime Planudes, publiée pour la première fois dans son entière* (Geneva, 1871).

Pertusi identifies 28 manuscripts containing Planudes' translation, 9 of which 14th century (Pertusi, 'La fortuna di Boezio a Bisanzio', pp. 306 ff.), suggesting a considerable level of interest at that time.

<sup>125</sup> 14 of the 28 manuscripts containing the *Consolation of Philosophy* also contain this short *Vita*, which Pertusi suggests Planudes compiled from at least three versions found together with Latin manuscripts. Pertusi, 'La fortuna di Boezio a Bisanzio', pp. 309 ff.

The *Vita* gives Boethius' full name and an account of his lineage, with emphasis on his senatorial and patrician status and his command of both Greek and Latin. It mentions his work on Porphyry's *Eisagoge* and Aristotle's *Peri Hermenias*, his book on the *Topics*, and that he wrote a work against Nestorius and Eutyches. Allusion is made to expertise in further subjects, but with no specific detail. The context given to the *De Consolatione* is that it was written in old age, with Boethius in exile for supporting the liberty of the city (Rome) and Theodoric persecuting those of noble birth and rank. This happened, 'it is said', at the time of the emperor Marcian. A brief description is given of the book's content and form, and admiration is expressed for Boethius' command of different genres and different subjects.

<sup>126</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 39. Greek edition of Prochoros Kydones' translation: Nikitas, *Boethius, De topicis differentiis καὶ οἱ βυζαντινὲς μεταφράσεις*, pp. 205–232. The translation is of books I and II. The translation differs from that of Holobolos, and is known only from one manuscript.

<sup>127</sup> Latin and English in Stewart et al, *Boethius. Tractates. Consolation of Philosophy*. Edition

*Further Texts* Demetrius translated two works of Anselm,<sup>128</sup> both directly related to issues disputed between the Catholic and Orthodox churches: the *De processione Spiritus sancti*,<sup>129</sup> and the short letter *De azymo et fermentato ad Walerrannum episcopum*.<sup>130</sup>

Demetrius also translated a section of Gregory the Great's *Homily XXVI*,<sup>131</sup> which deals with themes relating to the Holy Spirit.<sup>132</sup>

A rather different text is the *Contra legem Saracenorum* of Riccoldo Pennini da Monte Croce,<sup>133</sup> which Demetrius also translated, and evidently appreciated, since he composed a short encomium of the author.<sup>134</sup> This is a text specifically written against Islam, attacking what the author sees as absurdities and inconsistencies in the Koran. Demetrius' translation was presumably made before 1360, since in that year Kantakuzenos made use of it in his own treatise against Islam.<sup>135</sup>

---

of Kalekas' Greek translation: Pertusi, 'Gli studi latini di Manuele Caleca', at pp. 300–312. On the manuscripts: *ibid.*, 'Gli studi latini di Manuele Caleca', pp. 298 f.

<sup>128</sup> See Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 165 f.; also Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 70, section 2.7.

<sup>129</sup> PL 158, 286–326. English translation: Hopkins, J. & Richardson, H. (trans.), *Anselm of Canterbury, Vol. 3* (Edwin Mellen Press, Toronto, 1976), pp. 183–230.

Composed to expound the western doctrine of the procession to representatives of the Greek church at the council of Bari in October 1098 (Southern, R.W., *Saint Anselm: A portrait in a landscape* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 279), the treatise, mild in tone, discusses logical arguments and more 'practical' arguments, such as the question of non-inclusion of the *filioque* in the creed.

<sup>130</sup> PL 158, 541–548. English edition, Hopkins & Richardson, *Anselm of Canterbury, Vol. 3*, pp. 233–240.

The letter deals principally with the question of the use of unleavened or leavened bread in the eucharist, and justifies Latin practices. Anselm does not condemn eastern practices, but stresses that the important point is that as bread sustains transitory life, so Christ's body sustains eternally: whether the bread is leavened or unleavened is not an issue.

<sup>131</sup> Latin: PL 76, 1197–1206. English: Hurst, D. *Forty Gospel Homilies, Gregory the Great* (Cistercian Publications, Kalamazoo, Mich., 1990), pp. 200–211 (= entire sermon).

The translation covers the first six sections of the Homily, which deal with John 20:19–23 (the events of Pentecost). See Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 65.

<sup>132</sup> The passage touches on the procession of the Spirit from the Son, and apostolic authority. The *filioque* is assumed (*ejus missio ipsa processio est qua de Patre procedit et Filio*: PL 76, 1198) but the point is not laboured. Apostolic authority to bind and loose is a more prominent theme, with affirmation of the role of contemporary bishops. The emphasis is on episcopal authority in general, not papal authority as such.

<sup>133</sup> PG 154, 1035–1170. The Latin version of PG 154 is a re-translation into Latin (Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 71. 2.10). Riccoldo was a Dominican active in the east in the late 13th and early 14th centuries. See Mérigoux, J.M., 'Un précurseur du dialogue islamo-chrétien: Frère Riccoldo (1243–1320)', *Revue Thomiste* 73 (1973), pp. 609–621.

<sup>134</sup> Text: Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 161. On further manuscripts, see Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 67, 1.7.5.

<sup>135</sup> Trapp, E., *Manuel II Palaiologus, Dialog mit einem "Perser"* (Wiener byzantinische Stu-

A different kind of text again is the *Genealogia Christi ab Adam*, also translated by Demetrius.<sup>136</sup>

Finally, it should be mentioned that there is evidence either certainly or probably connecting Demetrius to a number of further avenues of investigation. This material is at times rather difficult to attribute: often the texts involved are short and de-contextualised. First, Demetrius can be connected, in the mid-1350s, with inquiries relating to the Photian schism of the ninth century,<sup>137</sup> particularly with investigations carried out by Philip de Bindo Incontri O.P.,<sup>138</sup> which included discovery of Acts from the council of 869/870.<sup>139</sup>

Second, a number of translations of creeds can, to a greater or lesser extent, be associated with Demetrius. Two of these are the creeds of the first and third councils of Toledo,<sup>140</sup> which have questionable claims to have been translated by Demetrius.<sup>141</sup> A third creed, more likely to have been translated by Demetrius, is that of Hilary of Poitiers.<sup>142</sup>

---

dien II, Vienna, 1966), p. 35; Vryonis, S., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1971), p. 424.

<sup>136</sup> Attribution to Demetrius is in Escorial 61. On further manuscripts: see Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 144 f.

The *Genealogia Christi ab Adam* is an abridgement of Peter Comestor's *Genealogia Scholastica*, and has been attributed to Peter of Poitiers, Chancellor of Paris from 1193–1205. It gives a brief account of biblical history in the form of a genealogical tree of Christ, and as such reflects the high degree of interest in western schools in the learning of literal biblical history. Moore, Ph.S., *The Works of Peter of Poitiers, Master of Theology and Chancellor of Paris (1193–1205)* (University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame (Ind.), 1936), p. 7. Without consulting the manuscripts, it is not possible to know the exact nature of the text, since the transmission of the Latin text is complex and prone to alteration and additions. *Ibid.*, pp. 100 f.

<sup>137</sup> On the schism, see Dvornik, F. *The Photian schism: history and legend* (Cambridge University Press, 1948); also Stiernon, D., *Constantinople IV*, in the series *Histoire des conciles oecuméniques* (Éditions de l'Orante, Paris, 1967).

<sup>138</sup> On Philip, see below, pp. 188 f., pp. 210 ff.

<sup>139</sup> As attested by Philip de Bindo Incontri himself: see Kaeppli, 'Deux nouveaux ouvrages de Fr. Philippe Incontri de Péra, OP', *AFFP* 23 (1953), pp. 163–183, at pp. 166 ff. On further evidence for Demetrius' association with documentation relative to the Photian schism, see Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 164, note 1; Kaeppli, 'Deux nouveaux ouvrages', pp. 165 f., note 11; Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 69, 2.5. For the council of 869/70: Tanner, N. (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils. Vol. I: Nicaea I to Lateran V* (Georgetown University Press, 1990), pp. 158–186.

<sup>140</sup> Toledo I = 400 AD; Toledo II = 589 AD (Denzinger, H., *Enchiridion Symbolorum: definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, 33rd Edition (Barcinone, 1965), 188 & 470).

<sup>141</sup> They are found together with writings connected with both Manuel Kalekas and Demetrius: it is unclear with which of the two they should be associated. See Canart, P. *Codices Vaticani Graeci: Codices 1745–1962* (Vatican City, 1970–1973), p. 451.

<sup>142</sup> It appears in Vat. gr. 677 (Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 69, 2.3) together with other material translated by Demetrius, making a connection probable.

Demetrius is in any case known to have translated into Greek the profession of faith used by John V in Rome in 1369.<sup>143</sup>

Lastly, a Greek translation of the *Donation of Constantine* was also very probably made by Demetrius.<sup>144</sup>

Two final points should be mentioned, relating to evidence of Demetrius' contact with other texts. Amongst Prochoros' effects which came into Demetrius' hands are fragments of translation of Hervaeus Natalis' *Commentary on the Sentences*, and fragments of translation of Jerome's prefaces to the Bible.<sup>145</sup> Demetrius presumably therefore was aware of both, but the extent of his knowledge of the texts is unclear.

### 1.2.3. *The Western Material: Observations*

The evidence presented above is wide-ranging and deserves consideration on many levels. The intention here, however, cannot be to discuss the material in depth, but only to identify some key themes arising from this survey, which can help in understanding Demetrius' preoccupations.

One important point which emerges is that Demetrius' translations of theological material demonstrate a level of interest which goes far beyond points of contention between east and west. This is shown particularly by his work on the *ST* and the *SCG*, which represents a massive project, not undertaken lightly. In their different ways, both the *ST* and the *SCG* cover broad swathes of Christian doctrine, using a wide range of methods and sources. The *ST* in particular is an extensive compendium, and would have given much evidence of the materials and methods natural to the western scholastic tradition, incorporating as it does a wealth of scriptural and patristic material, Greek as well as Latin. The *SCG* is less representative of western theology in that it makes less use of authoritative Christian sources, but is none the less a work of vast scope. It is very difficult to see these translations in terms other than a wish to engage with western theology as a whole, rather than just with certain aspects of it.

This is also borne out by the level of interest in Augustinian material. Planudes' translation of the *De Trinitate* can be explained in terms of interest in the question of the *filioque* at the time of the Union of Lyons: but the same cannot be said for the *De duodecim abusioinum gradibus*, nor the range of Augustinian works translated by Demetrius and Prochoros. In the case of

<sup>143</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 146 ff.; also Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 71, 2.12.

<sup>144</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 162–165 (and p. 159); also Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, pp. 69 f., 2.6.

<sup>145</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 37 ff.

Prochoros, the surviving Augustinian material implies an extensive knowledge of Augustine's work: the fragments of translations of Augustine, unlike the excerpts from the *Tertia Pars* of the *ST* (which do seem to be deliberately excerpted),<sup>146</sup> break off abruptly (and sometimes even begin abruptly): their extent, that is, does not seem to reflect a process of excerption, but to have more to do with the conditions of survival of the manuscript evidence.<sup>147</sup> Hence it seems reasonable to suggest that Prochoros' knowledge of the texts extended well beyond the surviving fragments of translation.<sup>148</sup> Moreover, the nature of the texts for which fragmentary translations survive demonstrates that Prochoros' interest in Augustine ranged over various texts and topics, and was not confined to specific controversy, although certain preoccupations do emerge (e.g. interest in the question of vision of God).

A difficulty arises when it comes to Demetrius' own interest in Augustine, since it is impossible to know whether he collaborated with Prochoros and/or had access to the same texts. Prochoros' surviving manuscripts evidently came into Demetrius' possession after Prochoros' death, given that they include autograph annotations and the like by Demetrius; but this provides only a bare minimum of information, and of relatively late date (i.e. after 1369). However, even without collaboration or sharing of material, it is evident that Demetrius' work on Augustine also covers rather varied texts, with different concerns. The *Sentences* are a somewhat random collection, not centred on any particular theme; the *Soliloquia* are meditative and mystical, rather than doctrinal;<sup>149</sup> while the *De fide ad Petrum* is an early

<sup>146</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 33 ff.

<sup>147</sup> For example, the fragment of Letter 147, begins and ends abruptly, mid-sentence, for no apparent logical reason. The letter as a whole has relevance to the question of the vision of God, and the fact that the fragment comes towards the end of the letter suggests that Prochoros did indeed deal with the whole letter, and quite probably translated all of it. The fragment of Letter 82 also breaks off abruptly with no apparent reason: it cannot be considered a deliberate excerpt. The translations of the *De libero arbitrio*, the *De beata vita* and the *De vera religione* also have similarly illogical breaks.

<sup>148</sup> That the original translations may have been much more extensive is also supported by evidence concerning one of Prochoros' own works. In Vat. gr. 609, which contains many of the fragments of Prochoros' translation, folios 140–146 contain a fragment of Prochoros' discussion of the usage of passages from the fathers in the Tome of 1351. What remains begins with the 91st passage out of 105 passages. This suggests that the work in its entirety covered all 105 passages. The rest is lost. On this work, see Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 23 ff. This makes it perfectly credible that Prochoros' translations could be misrepresented on a similar scale in the manuscript evidence.

<sup>149</sup> Although it might be suspected that interest in the *Soliloquia* might be connected with the hesychast debate, since it involves much light imagery and discusses the vision of God. However, these themes are in any case part of the common heritage of both east and west, hesychast and anti-hesychast. It may be that Demetrius chose to translate this work of 'Augustine' as a

attempt at systematic presentation. Although all three contain elements useful in debate between east and west, this is incidental to their overall format. Demetrius' interest in Augustine, even without Prochoros' contribution, evidently crossed genres and topics; and if a generous, rather than minimal, reading is given to the possible sharing of material between Prochoros and Demetrius, there is even greater potential for Demetrius to have had extensive direct knowledge of Augustinian texts.

Another key point is that Demetrius' acquaintance with western texts would also have demonstrated to him the links between western thought and the more secular Greek educational traditions. If Demetrius did have knowledge of Boethius from the earlier translations,<sup>150</sup> this would underline the connection: awareness of Boethius' role in the development of the scholastic tradition would have explained much about western methodology<sup>151</sup> and its connection to the Greek world<sup>152</sup>—something which Demetrius, as will be seen, was keen to emphasise.<sup>153</sup> But even without Boethius, Demetrius would have found much from the Greek tradition in the western texts. The *SCG* in particular would have demonstrated Aquinas' use of Aristotle, and Bernard Gui's catalogue would have demonstrated the depth of Aquinas' knowledge of Aristotelian texts. Demetrius clearly also valued Augustine's use of the philosophical tradition.<sup>154</sup> Prochoros' translation of the prooimion

useful tool in dealing with confrontational hesychasm: to point out that what is valuable in hesychasm's understanding of relationship with God can be found equally in the thought of leading western fathers. But it may also be that Demetrius had no such purpose, and simply translated the text because he found it intrinsically valuable—or even simply because it was an available work of 'Augustine'. On interest in Augustine, see below, p. 32.

<sup>150</sup> The only obvious, direct point of contact between Demetrius and the translations of Boethius is the presence of Prochoros' translation of Books I and II of the *De topicis differentiis* in Vat. gr. 609, which also contains autograph additions by Demetrius. Demetrius therefore presumably knew Boethius at least to this extent, from c. 1371 onwards. However, given Demetrius' interest in western thought, and the popularity of the *Consolation of Philosophy* and of the earlier translation of the *De topicis differentiis* witnessed to by the manuscript tradition (see above, pp. 24 f.), it is quite likely that Demetrius knew of Boethius before this.

<sup>151</sup> Even a superficial reading of the opening of the *De topicis differentiis*, placed alongside a reading of the passages of Hervaeus Natalis' *Commentary on the Sentences* translated by Prochoros, is enough to demonstrate the key importance of Boethius in understanding the methodology. For the *Commentary on the Sentences*, see *Hervei Natalis Britonis. In quatuor libros Sententiarum commentaria: quibus adiectus est eiusdem auctoris tractatus De potestate Papae* (= facsimile of 1647 edition) (Gregg Press, Farnborough, 1966).

<sup>152</sup> On the historical similarities between Greek and Latin systems, see e.g. Tinnefeld, 'Das Niveau der abendländischen Wissenschaft', pp. 245 ff.

<sup>153</sup> Below, pp. 90 f.

<sup>154</sup> In L25, to Helena Kantakuzena, Demetrius speaks of Augustine as a prime interpreter of Aristotle and Plato in Christian terms.

to Aquinas' work on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and his translation from the *De Aeternitate Mundi* also demonstrate more philosophical considerations.

However, even without access to Boethius' treatment of methodology, Demetrius' knowledge of western texts would still have made him aware, perhaps in more general terms, of the indebtedness of Latin thought to Greek educational and philosophical traditions, and put him in a position both to understand the methods of scholastic argumentation and to grasp western ideas regarding 'best practice' in the use made of such argumentation. His reading of Aquinas, for example, would have made him very aware of the distinctions Aquinas makes regarding the role of human reasoning and the role of revelation: Aquinas repeatedly returns to these points in the *SCG* and *ST*, whose entire structure is based on such establishing such distinctions,<sup>155</sup> as well as in shorter texts such as the *De rationibus fidei*.<sup>156</sup> As will be seen, Demetrius is also very much concerned with the role, nature and processes of human reason in his own writings.<sup>157</sup>

However, while Demetrius' interest in western theology clearly was broad-ranging and would have made him aware of key aspects of the western approach, it is also clear that in some cases his acquaintance with western material does concentrate on certain preoccupations, including traditional points of contention between east and west.

It is clear, for example, that he did follow up the question of the *filioque*. His translation of Anselm's treatise on the subject demonstrates this,<sup>158</sup> as do the fragments of Augustine's *In Iohannis Evangelium* and Gregory the Great's *Homily XXVI*, and the creed of Hilary, which bear on the same issue. These works appear together in Vat. gr. 677, demonstrating that they were purposefully related,<sup>159</sup> and the presence in the same manuscripts of Demetrius' own *Sermo in Pentecosten et in Spiritum Sanctam* shows Demetrius actively involved.<sup>160</sup> Demetrius also composed a treatise on the

<sup>155</sup> See above, p. 16, note 75. As Kianka points out (Kianka, F., 'Demetrius Cydones and Thomas Aquinas', *Byz.* 52 (1982), pp. 264–286, at p. 280, with note 59), a reader would not have to go far in the *ST*—only as far as question 1, article 5—to find the subservience of other sciences to theology laid out in no uncertain terms.

<sup>156</sup> See above, p. 18, note 86.

<sup>157</sup> See below, pp. 92–96.

<sup>158</sup> The two writings of Anselm translated by Demetrius are in some ways rather peripheral to Anselm's thought. Had Demetrius been interested in Anselm for other reasons, he surely would have translated other material—as Manuel Kalekas did later, when he translated the *Cur Deus Homo* (Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 90).

<sup>159</sup> Vat. gr. 1115 also contains all these texts, except the creed of Hilary.

<sup>160</sup> Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 64, 1.2.4.



procession of the Spirit,<sup>161</sup> and a treatise *De personarum proprietatibus in Trinitate*;<sup>162</sup> moreover, he was involved in dispute with Nil Kabasilas on the question of the procession of the Spirit.<sup>163</sup> Thus it is clear that Demetrius was very much concerned with the *filioque* debate. To list all his translations with some bearing on the subject would be superfluous: it is in any case to be expected that any western text dealing with the Trinity would assume the *filioque*.

It is also clear that Demetrius was interested in examining the nature of western claims and the relationship between the churches on other levels. His interest in the *Donation of Constantine* and the Photian councils illustrates this: it shows him gathering significant documentary information regarding ecclesiastical relationships. Although Demetrius does not seem to have written specific treatises on the question of papal authority, unlike many of his contemporaries,<sup>164</sup> he was evidently interested in the question,<sup>165</sup> and discussion of it does, as will be seen, figure in his writings.<sup>166</sup>

Demetrius clearly also brought an interest in fundamentals to the question of the relationship between east and west. This is evident in one of the other themes suggested by Demetrius' translations: the nature of Latin patristic authority. This is explicit in his letter L25, to Helena Kantakuzena: sending the empress a translation of one of Augustine's works, Demetrius tells her that the church councils were unanimous in acclaiming Augustine. That Demetrius had done some specific research into Augustine's status as an authority approved by the councils is also shown by Vat. gr. 606, folios 312<sup>r</sup>–313<sup>r</sup>, which contains a selection, compiled by Demetrius himself, of laudatory references to Augustine made in conciliar documents.<sup>167</sup> Thus Demetrius identifies Augustine as an authority acclaimed as such by the Greek tradition itself.

<sup>161</sup> Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 63, 1.1.2.

<sup>162</sup> Addressed to Constantine Asanes. Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 63, 1.1.3. Edition: Candal, E., 'Demetrio Cidone y el problema trinitario palamítico', *OCP* 28 (1962), pp. 75–120.

<sup>163</sup> On Nil, see above, pp. 6f. On the debate between Demetrius and Nil, see below, pp. 47f.

<sup>164</sup> Nil Kabasilas, for example, wrote very specifically on the subject. See Kislas, *Nil Cabasilas: Sur le Saint-Esprit*, p. 60, esp. a. and b.

<sup>165</sup> It would seem that he had in his possession, in Vat. gr. 1115, the letter of John de Fontibus on the subject. See Loenertz, R.-J., 'Ioannis de Fontibus ord. Praedicatorum epistula ad abbatem et conventum monasterii nescio cuius Constantinopolitani', *AFFP* 30 (1960), pp. 163–195.

<sup>166</sup> See below, pp. 103–118.

<sup>167</sup> Rackl, 'Die griechischen Augustinerübersetzungen', pp. 2ff.

This has clear repercussions for the question of the *filioque*. Demetrius had access not just to the *De Trinitate*, but also to numerous shorter works, many of which concise and catechetical, all of which assume the procession of the Spirit also from the Son, and do so with Augustinian authority.<sup>168</sup> Demetrius thus had ample evidence linking the *filioque* to one of the most influential western authorities. As will be seen, the idea that Latin patristic authority must be accepted alongside Greek patristic authority became one of Demetrius' key contentions in dealing with the relationship between east and west: he even wrote a short piece specifically on this subject.<sup>169</sup> Interest in other Latin fathers—Hilary, for example, and Gregory the Great<sup>170</sup>—can therefore be seen in this light, together with his interest in Augustine. And this concern can also be seen as applying to later writers, insofar as they are faithful to the fathers.

Another question which arises from Demetrius' translations, however, is what his purpose was in translating a number of works of short, catechetical nature, which set out key Catholic doctrine and ideas. To this category belong the *De rationibus fidei*, the *De articulis fidei* and the *De fide ad Petrum*. If Prochoros and Demetrius did both also have access to the *Enchiridion*,<sup>171</sup> this gives additional material of a similar scope. These translations open up another area of speculation. They seem rather superfluous, given the work done on the *ST*. Were they intended to provide catechetical material for Greek 'converts'? Or to inform a Greek Orthodox audience otherwise ignorant of the content of Catholicism and apt to erroneous prejudice? Or were they translated simply because they were available? In any case, they do point to a wish to convey fairly basic Catholic belief, on a manageable scale, as well more complex work.<sup>172</sup> As will be seen, Demetrius formulated

<sup>168</sup> For example, see above: p. 18, note 87; p. 20, note 97; p. 23, note 108.

<sup>169</sup> *De patrum Latinorum auctoritate ad amicum quendam*: see Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 63, 1.1.4. On the question of the fathers, see below, pp. 96ff.

<sup>170</sup> Gregory's status would have been known in the east, where he is principally known as 'the Dialogist'. The *Dialogues* were translated in the 8th century by Pope Zachary (Follieri, E., 'Santi occidentali nell'innographia Bizantina', in *Atti del convegno internazionale sul tema L'oriente cristiano nella storia della civiltà, Roma, 31 marzo–3 aprile 1963, Firenze, 4 aprile 1963* (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, 1964), pp. 251–272, at p. 267). Various short accounts of Gregory's life are known in Greek, apparently derived from extracts of the biography written by John the Deacon. Photios gives a similar account of Gregory in the *Bibliotheca*. See Delahaye, H., 'S. Grégoire le Grand dans l'hagiographie grecque', *AB* 23 (1904), pp. 449–454.

<sup>171</sup> See above, p. 24.

<sup>172</sup> What is also worth considering is whether the presence of these 'handbooks' can be related in any way to Nicholas Kabasilas' works *The Life in Christ* and *Commentary on the*

his own beliefs in concise form in a number of writings,<sup>173</sup> so it is certainly conceivable that he had a personal interest in the catechetical concerns of such Catholic 'handbooks'.

On a less denominational level, Demetrius' translations evidently also demonstrate an interest in polemic/apologetic directed against Islam. This can be seen most clearly in the *Contra legem Saracenorum*, but also in the SCG itself, and in other texts such as the *De rationibus fidei* and even, possibly, the *Genealogia Christi ab Adam*.<sup>174</sup> Contemporary interest in apologetic against Islam is understandable, given the territorial and political fluidity affecting eastern Christian and Moslem populations, which could occasionally throw up interesting examples of religious dialogue.<sup>175</sup> Katakuzenos himself wrote a treatise against Islam,<sup>176</sup> using Demetrius' translation of the *Contra legem Saracenorum*.<sup>177</sup> Again, as will be seen, Demetrius himself expresses concern in his own writings for need for co-operation between Christians in view of the need for missionary work.<sup>178</sup>

Thus it is possible, simply on the basis of the material summarised above, to identify certain key themes running through Demetrius' translations and through the material potentially otherwise available to him. However, there are a number of points that must be made, if the significance of the translations themselves is not to be misrepresented.

One is that, useful though the translations are as an indication of Demetrius' knowledge of western material, they are not necessarily exhaustive. Demetrius, with his ability to read Latin, could quite possibly have had considerably more knowledge of western material than the survey above

---

*Eucharist*, both of which are somewhat unusual texts in the Orthodox tradition, but may make sense as a response to dissemination of Catholic 'handbooks' presenting Catholic sacraments and rites.

<sup>173</sup> Particularly concisely in the *Apologia III*. See below, pp. 45 f.

<sup>174</sup> In Chapter 9 of the *Contra legem Saracenorum*, Riccoldo mentions as one of the errors contained within the Koran a false description of the relationships between major figures of religious history: Mary, for example, is given as the daughter of Abraham and sister of Aaron. It may be that interest in the *Genealogia Christi ab Adam* fits into a context of refutation of Islamic presentation of biblical history.

<sup>175</sup> E.g. Gregory Palamas' captivity in Asia Minor in 1354/55, where Palamas became involved in debate with various Moslem and hybrid groups. See Georgiades Arnakis, G., 'Gregory Palamas among the Turks and documents of his captivity as historical sources', *Speculum* 26 (1951), pp. 104–116.

<sup>176</sup> PG 154, cols 371–692.

<sup>177</sup> See above, p. 26.

<sup>178</sup> E.g. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 376, 18–32. See below, pp. 107 f.

suggests,<sup>179</sup> quite possibly including genres not evident from this survey. What he translated may therefore not be fully reliable as a measure of what he read. On the positive side, however, this may also, by implication, give more significance to what he *did* translate, since it would bring in an element of choice.

Further, Demetrius' translations themselves would have informed him about other western material, because of the nature of the texts. Even the shorter works convey the existence and contents of other authorities: the *De rationibus fidei*, for example, quotes from Augustine's *City of God*; the *De Mundi Aeternitate* refers also to Augustine's *Confessions* and *De Genesi ad litteram*, as well as Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, John Damascene's *De fide orthodoxa* and Hugh of St Victor's *De Sacramentis*; and this is nothing when compared with the wealth of such references, often lengthy and with lengthy discussion, in the *ST*. Thus the translations mentioned above would also have introduced Demetrius to many authors, works and ideas which do not feature individually in the survey.

On the more negative side, however, Demetrius' reading of Latin would no doubt have been restricted by availability of material. Certainly in some cases indications are found of this: in the translation of the *Sentences* of Prosper of Aquitaine, for example, where Demetrius mentions faults in the manuscript and no possibility of accessing another.<sup>180</sup> In letter L25, Demetrius also mentions problems accessing and dealing with a text of Augustine.<sup>181</sup> A sense of the difficulties of accessing material is also given by the rather eclectic nature of the texts translated both by him and by others. In some cases, then, the choice of material translated by Demetrius may have as much to do with availability as with selection. This must be borne in mind when attempting to read the significance of the presence of any particular work: it may say as much about the reasons for the work being available in the east as about the reasons for Demetrius to be interested in it. It is easy, for example, to see why works of Aquinas might have been accessible,

---

<sup>179</sup> When speaking of his progress in Latin in the *Apologia I*, Demetrius describes following up interests specifically *not* concerned with secular literature (Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 367, 36–41), but this is in a context that does not rule out, and indeed implies, that Demetrius did have knowledge of other genres of Latin literature. So Kianka speaks of Demetrius reading 'the Latin classics, secular as well as religious' (Kianka, F., 'Demetrius Kydonos and Italy', *DOP* 49 (1995), pp. 99–110, at p. 102). That Demetrius read works he did not translate is also indicated by the presence in his papers of the work of John de Fontibus (see above, p. 32, note 165).

<sup>180</sup> See above, p. 23, note 114.

<sup>181</sup> Kianka, F., 'The Letters of Demetrius Kydonos to Empress Helena Kantakouzena Palaiologina', *DOP* 46 (1992), pp. 155–164, at p. 157.

with the level of Dominican activity in the east;<sup>182</sup> it is easy, also, to see why anti-Islamic apologetics (the *SCG*, the *Contra legem Saracenorum*, the *De rationibus fidei*) and debate with the Greeks (the *De rationibus fidei* again, Anselm's works, the *De fide ad Petrum*) might have been considered relevant to Latins in the east. In other cases, the context is less clear.

But, this having been said, there is also the possibility that in some cases supply might have also followed demand. Demetrius raises the possibility himself: when his interest in western literature became known, according to his own account people came to him, bringing him what books they could find.<sup>183</sup> Although this would no doubt have been partly governed by what was available, there is scope for it to have also responded to Demetrius' own interests. Thus Demetrius' discovery of Aquinas may have encouraged him to seek out further works of Aquinas and encouraged his Latin contacts to provide him with them;<sup>184</sup> his interest in Latin fathers regarded— theoretically—as authoritative in the Greek tradition may have encouraged a similar process as regards Augustine and others. Not too much should be read into this, particularly since despite undoubtedly being aware of the existence of a wide range of Latin works, as mentioned above, including such great classics as Augustine's *Confessions* and *City of God*, there is apparently no evidence that Demetrius had access to them. This argues for considerable limitations; but it still does not rule out the idea that, in some cases at least, supply may also have responded to demand. It should also be remembered that Demetrius was not permanently in the east; he may have had some chance to access further material while in the west,<sup>185</sup> giving further grounds to think that some material translated may reflect choice rather than necessity.

<sup>182</sup> Although the works of Aquinas were not entirely uncontroversial, the Dominican order had emerged from the controversies valiantly defending Thomas' writings (Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino*, pp. 331–350), and it is to that extent not surprising that his works should have been available in Constantinople; although the presence of full versions of the *SCG* and *ST* is nonetheless itself worth noting in terms of the transmission of Aquinas. On the Dominicans in the east, see Loenertz, R.-J., *La Société des Frères Pèlerins. Étude sur l'Orient dominicain*, I (Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum, Dissertationes Historicae 7, Rome, 1937).

<sup>183</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 263 f., pp. 31 ff.

<sup>184</sup> The chapters from the *Vita* of Aquinas of Bernard Gui can be seen literally as a kind of catalogue, guiding and contextualising the search for texts. As Kianka points out (Kianka, 'Demetrius Cydones and Thomas Aquinas', p. 275), Demetrius' translations show no interest in Aquinas' purely philosophical works, suggesting that Demetrius, however fond of the Greek philosophical tradition, was looking for other qualities in Aquinas.

<sup>185</sup> He certainly had erudite contacts, including notable figures at the papal court, who could well have provided him with texts. See Kianka, 'Demetrius Cydones and Italy', pp. 104 f.

This, however, highlights another difficulty in dealing with the translations. It is, in most cases, quite unclear when the translations were made. In the case of the *ST*, the *SCG* and the *Contra legem Saracenorum*, some information is available, placing the work in the 1350s. But in most other cases the dating of the translations can only be guessed at. This makes any discussion of the principles guiding choice, and the specific influences on Demetrius as time progressed, difficult to pin down in terms of the western literature he may or may not have been reading or translating at the time. The material described above cannot be taken as a body of influence underlying all Demetrius' writings, irrespective of date; it can only be taken as a useful indicator. The same goes, of course, for Demetrius' knowledge of the Greek tradition: there is nothing to say he did not make progress, develop new interests, as time passed, and in fact it is very likely that he did so. His interest in Chrysostom, for example, finds particular expression in the late 1380s.<sup>186</sup>

These—and no doubt many other—considerations should be taken into account when considering the implications of the evidence for Demetrius' intellectual background. Although there are many imponderables, however, it is undeniable that what has been presented above, despite all the caveats, does allow for much positive interpretation. Knowledge of Aquinas alone, which Demetrius certainly had in the 1350s, would have given him, and those who read his translations, a substantial insight into many aspects both of the methods and the content of western theology. The scale of the Aquinas project, and the range of other texts involved, illustrates that this was far from a one-off event, and far from insignificant in its proportions. It is clear both that Demetrius had substantial personal knowledge of western ideas, and that the availability of western material in Greek cannot be regarded as insignificant from the 1350s onwards.

<sup>186</sup> cf. Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, I*, p. 67, 1.7.4, who suggests a connection with L406, where Demetrius speaks in praise of Chrysostom; although this scarcely proves such interests did not develop earlier.

SECTION TWO

IDEAS AND PREOCCUPATIONS

## INTRODUCTION

The opening section has looked at a range of influences easily identifiable in Demetrius' intellectual background. The intention was to provide an introduction to Demetrius' interests as a scholar, to enable appreciation both of his Byzantine intellectual credentials and the range of his interest in western thought. Section II (Chapters 2 and 3) aims to flesh out the portrait of Demetrius which is being built up, by presenting the main topics and ideas he addresses in his own writings of the period to c. 1373.<sup>1</sup>

This section therefore has a purpose in itself: to present and discuss a range of topics and ideas covered by Demetrius, thus hopefully providing a balanced picture of his political and theological preoccupations. However, the section also has a role within the development of the argument of this book as a whole. The intention in Section III is to discuss the implications of Demetrius' career and opinions for understanding the development of Byzantine society in the period. In order to do this effectively, it is necessary to ask what ideological stance Demetrius represented publicly, on key matters of public concern. Therefore the emphasis in this chapter is on topics most able to contribute to this understanding. Priority is, moreover, given to identifying the broad lines of Demetrius' approach, rather than to in-depth analysis of his theological arguments.

What will not be used as a criterion for selection at this stage, however, is the question of the extent to which Demetrius' various ideas may have been known publicly. His writings belong to different contexts, and it should not be assumed that all the ideas expressed in them enjoyed the same level of publicity. However, to leave out some of the ideas found in his writings to c. 1373 on the suspicion that they might not have been widely publicised or associated with him might lead to important themes being omitted on insufficient grounds, and thus a misleading account being given. The intention is therefore to include material from the various writings regardless of their potential context, in order to avoid this. Chapter 4 will then discuss how the ideas might relate to the public sphere.

---

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. XIV f.; also below, pp. 42–48, with regard to the writings included in this study.

## THE SOURCES: DEMETRIUS' WRITINGS TO C. 1373

However, before embarking upon this presentation of Demetrius' ideas, it is necessary to make clear which of Demetrius' writings are to be included in the discussion. In most cases, this is not a difficult question. Demetrius' original works, unlike his translations, often fit into a specific context, and can be dated with some accuracy.<sup>2</sup> It is this, above all, which makes this study feasible.

The first body of material is the corpus of Demetrius' letters, of which over 450 survive.<sup>3</sup> Both Loenertz and Tinnefeld have done extensive work on the chronology of the letters. In some cases, extremely precise dating is possible; in other cases, the month, season, year, or period can be safely given; in few cases are there no indications. If Tinnefeld's dating system is accepted, nearly 120 letters can be dated to narrow windows in the period to 1373, while around twenty more can be placed within the period, but with less precise dating.<sup>4</sup> Although it is at times difficult to interpret the context and content of the letters, at other times Demetrius' letters can be startlingly direct and informative. Many of them, moreover, are addressed to significant figures, while some also give useful indications of the nature of the audience beyond the individual addressee. Demetrius' letters are thus an invaluable source for the period.

A second group of Demetrius' writings used in this study is a set of six 'speeches',<sup>5</sup> all of which can be dated relatively precisely.

Three of these 'speeches' belong to the mid-1340s. The first is Demetrius' *Monody on the Dead of Thessalonica*,<sup>6</sup> written in response to the massacre which took place in the city in 1345,<sup>7</sup> and affected Demetrius' family and acquaintances, although Demetrius himself was absent from Thessalonica

<sup>2</sup> This does not, however, apply to the same extent to a number of theological treatises and sermons, which do not, for this reason, as well as because of their more abstract character, constitute part of this study.

<sup>3</sup> Greek edition: Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I* and idem, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, II*, SeT 208 (Vatican City, 1960). German translation: Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe*, 5 vols (see above, p. 16, note 74).

<sup>4</sup> Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, I*, pp. 79–84.

<sup>5</sup> Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, I*, pp. 64 f.

<sup>6</sup> PG 109, 640–652. English translation: Barker, J.W., 'The monody of Demetrius Kydones on the Zealot rising of 1345 in Thessaloniki', in *Essays in Memory of Basil Laourdas* (Thessalonica, 1975), pp. 285–300.

<sup>7</sup> Barker, J.W., 'Late Byzantine Thessalonike: A Second City's Challenges and Responses', *DOP* 57 (2003), p. 17; also *ibid.*, Appendix II, pp. 29–33, on the question of the Zealot revolt.

at the time.<sup>8</sup> The *First Oration to John Kantakuzenos*<sup>9</sup> and the *Second Oration to John Kantakuzenos*<sup>10</sup> both date to 1347, when Kantakuzenos established himself as emperor in Constantinople.<sup>11</sup> The *First Oration* is primarily a plea to Kantakuzenos for support, based on the Kydones family's historical association with Kantakuzenos, and the troubles they have endured, which make it necessary for Demetrius, as the head of the household, to seek support. As such, it contains useful biographical details. The *Second Oration* is more strictly an oration: it gives a short, selective review of the recent events of the civil war, framed within an encomium of Kantakuzenos as the new emperor.

A fourth oration, the *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum*,<sup>12</sup> can be dated to 1366, after Amadeo of Savoy had taken Gallipoli, but before he entered Constantinople.<sup>13</sup> John V was absent from the capital, delayed by the Bulgarians on his return from an unsuccessful mission to Hungary.<sup>14</sup> In the speech, Demetrius urges his audience to accept Amadeo's force as allies and welcome them into Constantinople. The speech gives an invaluable discussion of the international political situation, as well as a fascinating historical and ideological treatment of the relationship between Byzantium and the west.

The *Oratio de non reddenda Callipoli*<sup>15</sup> also concerns the fate of Gallipoli, and also apparently belongs to a period in which John V was absent from his capital, this time delayed in his return from Italy following his visit to Urban V in Rome in 1369/1370.<sup>16</sup> It best fits the year 1371, before the battle on the Marica in September that year.<sup>17</sup> After taking Gallipoli in 1366, Amadeo had handed the stronghold over to the Byzantines. The Turks requested the return of Gallipoli as one of the conditions of a peace treaty, which some hoped would lessen the pressure on the Byzantines. The *Oratio de non reddenda Callipoli* responds to this. Demetrius is emphatic

<sup>8</sup> The impact of these events on Demetrius' family is not directly mentioned in the *Monody*, but comes through in various letters (e.g. L7, L43), and particularly in the *First Oration to John Kantakuzenos*, which indicate that Demetrius and his family suffered both economically and psychologically (Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, p. 5, section 10). See also below, p. 51.

<sup>9</sup> Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, pp. 1–10.

<sup>10</sup> Cammelli, G., 'Oratio ad Iohannem Cantacuzenum altera', *BNJ* 4 (1923), pp. 77–83.

<sup>11</sup> Nicol, D.M., *The Last Centuries of Byzantium* (Second Edition, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993), pp. 206 ff.

<sup>12</sup> PG 154, 961–1008.

<sup>13</sup> On Amadeo, see below, p. 183.

<sup>14</sup> On John's mission to Hungary, see below, p. 183.

<sup>15</sup> PG 154, 1009–1036.

<sup>16</sup> See below, pp. 183 f.

<sup>17</sup> Nicol, *Last Centuries*, pp. 274 ff.

that Gallipoli should not be returned to the Turks: to surrender Gallipoli would have disastrous consequences and make the subsequent survival of any independent Byzantine territory impossible. As part of his argument, Demetrius discusses the strategic value of Gallipoli and gives a valuable account of the disastrous effects of its capture in 1354.

The final speech of the six, the *Oratio ad Iohannem Palaeologum*,<sup>18</sup> belongs shortly after John V's return to Constantinople in October 1371. Together with a number of letters from the same period, this speech indicates that Demetrius was out of favour with John V in the early 1370s, from the return from Italy until after Demetrius' trip to Lesbos in 1373/4.<sup>19</sup> In the speech, Demetrius is conscious of John's disfavour, which Demetrius sees as the result of John's lending credence to Demetrius' opponents, despite Demetrius' record of loyal service, which the speech expounds upon. Demetrius asks to be released from his duties in imperial service, and for permission to travel to Italy, to continue his studies and at the same time represent John V's interests to the pope. The speech thus deals with a number of different levels: it is framed around Demetrius' scholarly interests, but also discusses his career in John V's service and his theological stance.

A third set of relevant material is the set of so-called 'apologias'.<sup>20</sup> Of these, the *Apologia I*<sup>21</sup> (inc. *Δέομαι πρὸς Θεοῦ*) has received most attention.<sup>22</sup> It

<sup>18</sup> Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, pp. 10–23.

<sup>19</sup> Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, pp. 28 ff.

<sup>20</sup> These are identified in different ways by Mercati, Tinnefeld and Loenertz. Mercati regards as apologias the three texts he presents under the heading *Apologie della propria fede* (Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 359–437), as well as the pieces he entitles *Apologia di Procoro al patriarca Filoteo nell'imminenza della condanna* (Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 296–313; but on the authorship of this piece, see Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 72, 3.2) and *Demetrio contro il patriarca Filoteo dopo la morte di Procoro* (Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 313–338). For Tinnefeld's classification of three apologias, see Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 66, section 1.6: he places the third of Mercati's *Apologie della propria fede*, the *Testamentum religiosum*, in a different category (Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 67, 1.7.2). Loenertz's idea of what belongs to the category of 'apologetic' works is apparently more flexible, including other pieces which are not regarded as such elsewhere. See Loenertz, R.-J., 'Démétrius Cydonès, 1: De la naissance à l'année 1373', *OCP* 36 (1970), p. 55.

The system used here is largely a matter of convenience, rather than conforming to specific criteria: the most important consideration is to be sure which works are being dealt with, and this is made clear in the references.

<sup>21</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 359–403 (= entitled by Mercati *Ai greci ortodossi*).

<sup>22</sup> With translations into German (Beck, H.-G. 'Die Apologia des Demetrius Kydones', *Ostkirchliche Studien* 1 (1952)), pp. 208–225, 264–282 and English (Likoudis, J., *Ending the Byzantine Greek Schism* (New Rochelle, NY, 1992)).

was composed after the death of Nil Kabasilas,<sup>23</sup> quite probably in 1363.<sup>24</sup> Written in a strongly personal, autobiographical style,<sup>25</sup> the piece discusses the development of Demetrius' interest in the Latin language and Latin thought, including his translation work,<sup>26</sup> before launching into an extended discussion of key theological ideas, including the *filioque* and the role of the papacy. The *Apologia I* thus covers a wide range of theological, ecclesiastical and political issues.

Mercati's title for the *Apologia II*<sup>27</sup> (*Difesa della propria sincerità*, inc. *Εγὼ σε πόρωθεν*) is fully justified. The piece is predicated upon a context in which one of Demetrius' friends has defended Demetrius publicly by saying that Demetrius does not really believe what he says: that he only says these things to please the Latins, and will, on his deathbed, show himself to be truly orthodox. The *Apologia II* refutes this: it insists on Demetrius' sincerity, points out the illogicality of what the friend is saying, and gives a summary of the principles of Demetrius' beliefs. Demetrius demands that his friend allow freedom of conscience and admit that Demetrius' search for the truth is genuine, even though he reaches different conclusions. The *Apologia II* certainly dates to 1371 or after, since it mentions the trip to Rome.<sup>28</sup> The *terminus ante quem* is less certain, although it does suit rather better the circumstances of 1371–1373, as Tinnefeld suggests,<sup>29</sup> rather than any later period.

The *Apologia III*<sup>30</sup> (inc. *Οἶδα πολλοὺς ἐπιπεσομένους*) is in many ways a concise version of the *Apologia II*. Demetrius is again concerned with the death-bed scenario—with preventing a false idea of his beliefs being given out by his opponents after his death. His aim is therefore to set out his basic beliefs: his Christian faith, his understanding of authority, acceptance

<sup>23</sup> The exact date of Nil's death is unclear. He certainly died no later than March 1363, but may well have died some time the preceding year. See Kislak, *Nil Cabasilas: Sur le Saint-Esprit*, p. 55 and Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 260.

<sup>24</sup> The strongest indication of date is the impression given in the text that Nil's death is a relatively recent event. Mercati conservatively dates the piece to 1363–1367 (Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 138), but Tinnefeld prefers an earlier date (Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 66). Supporting circumstantial evidence for an earlier rather than later date can be found in the text's silence regarding developments of the mid-1360s, from c. 1364, which could profitably have been added to Demetrius' arguments.

<sup>25</sup> On the autobiographical elements, see Kianka, F., 'The Apology of Demetrius Cydones: A fourteenth century autobiographical source', *Byzantine Studies* 7 (1980), pp. 57–71.

<sup>26</sup> See above, pp. 13 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 403–425.

<sup>28</sup> See below, pp. 183 f.

<sup>29</sup> Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 66, 1.6.2.

<sup>30</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 425–435.

of the *filioque*, attitude to the church and to Rome, and opposition to the Palamite doctrine of energies. The date of the *Apologia III* is not certain: it does not definitely predate 1373, and its preoccupation with death could indicate a later stage in Demetrius' life. However, death was a reality and preoccupation for Demetrius throughout his adult life (as demonstrated by the *De contemnenda morte*: see below): psychologically there is no difficulty in dating the *Apologia III* to the early 1370s.

The *Apologia IV*<sup>31</sup> (inc.  $\delta \Theta \epsilon \delta \varsigma \omicron \iota \delta \epsilon$ ) was written after Prochoros Kydones' death and Demetrius' return from Rome. It is probably best seen as an immediate response, written upon Demetrius' return to the capital: hence it is best dated to summer 1371. It is a vitriolic attack on the patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos, to whom it is also addressed, for his treatment of Prochoros. Demetrius upholds Prochoros' reputation and condemns Philotheos in an extensive diatribe. In doing so, it gives a variant account of the events surrounding the *Tome* of 1368,<sup>32</sup> composed by Philotheos, which condemned Prochoros. It is the most overtly polemical and aggressive of Demetrius' writings, and presents a clear challenge to Philotheos' authority.

Further to the letters, the six 'speeches' and the four 'apologias', there are a number of other writings which must be mentioned. The most substantial of these is the *De contemnenda morte*,<sup>33</sup> probably written well before 1371.<sup>34</sup> The *De contemnenda morte* is a philosophical discourse, demonstrating why a philosophical man should not fear death. It stands out amongst Demetrius' writings for its continued popularity in later centuries.<sup>35</sup>

There is also a set of four prooimia composed by Demetrius to accompany chrysobulls of John V Palaiologos.<sup>36</sup> Three certainly predate 1373, while the fourth may also belong to the same period. Together, the prooimia provide useful additional material, particularly relating to Demetrius' official functions.

<sup>31</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 313–338.

<sup>32</sup> PG 151, 693–716.

<sup>33</sup> Greek edition: Deckelmann, H., *Demetrii Cydonii De Contemnenda Morte: oratio* (Teubner, Lipsiae, 1901). German translation: Blum, W., *Furcht vor dem Tod. Die Schrift des Demetrius Kydones "Über die Verachtung des Todes". Eingeleitet und übersetzt von Wilhelm Blum* (Aschendorff, Münster, 1973).

<sup>34</sup> In L1 (likely date 1371/2; see Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, II*, p. 469), Demetrius is sending the unnamed recipient a copy of a piece he composed many years previously. The description of the piece makes it likely this is a reference to the *De contemnenda morte*.

<sup>35</sup> See below, pp. 135 f.

<sup>36</sup> Edition, with German translation and notes: Tinnefeld, F., 'Vier Prooimien zu Kaiserurkunden, verfaßt von Demetrius Kydones', *Byzantinoslavica* 44 (1983), pp. 13–30, 178–195.

The first relates to a chrysobull confirming a Kyr Gabriel, archimandrite of the Pantokrator in Didymoteichos, in certain rights and possessions. The prooimion meditates upon various weighty themes concerning God, man, the emperor's role, virtue, etc. It must post-date 1354, and probably was composed before the fall of Didymoteichos (?1361).<sup>37</sup>

The second prooimion refers to an endowment granted by Anne of Savoy, John V's mother, to a group dedicated to St John the Baptist in Thessalonica. Anne is much eulogised, and the description of her indicates that she is already a nun.<sup>38</sup> This prooimion belongs to the period between Kydones' taking up office under John V (c. 1356) and Anne's death in 1365.

The third prooimion is the most extensive and historically informative: it refers to John V's conferral on his son Manuel of territories in Macedonia and Thessaly. It gives considerable context to this act of John V, making much of Manuel's qualities and the many ways he has served his father (accompanying him on his journey to Hungary in 1365–1366, travelling to him in Venice), as well as illustrating the increasing pressure imposed by the Turks. The prooimion must date shortly after John V's return to Constantinople in October 1371, and is also mentioned in Demetrius' letters.<sup>39</sup>

The final prooimion relates, according to a comment in the manuscript, to the granting of Zagora to John V's son Michael; however, the surviving text confines itself to a rhetorical treatment of the natural bonds between father and son. The prooimion is probably best placed shortly after the grant to Manuel, hence late 1371 or a little later.

Before closing this section, one further piece which certainly belongs to the period to 1373 must be mentioned: Demetrius' *Defence of Thomas Aquinas against Nil Kabasilas*,<sup>40</sup> composed, like the *Apologia I*, shortly after the death of Nil Kabasilas, in response to Nil's treatise *On the Holy Spirit*.<sup>41</sup> In the *Apologia I*, Demetrius refers to this exchange between himself and Nil, gives it a narrative context, and delivers a negative verdict on Nil's arguments. Given the focus of this chapter, and of this argument of this book overall—that is, its emphasis on the general lines of Demetrius' opinions, rather

<sup>37</sup> Nicol, *Last Centuries*, p. 262.

<sup>38</sup> Tinnefeld, 'Vier Prooimien', p. 29.

<sup>39</sup> L79, L111.

<sup>40</sup> See Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, II*, p. 63, 1.1.1. An edition is planned by Dr D. Searby of Uppsala University. On the content of the debate, see Podskalsky, G., *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz: der Streit um die theologische Methodik in der spätbyzantinische Geistesgeschichte (14.–15. Jahrhundert), seine systematische Grundlagen und seine historische Entwicklung* (Beck, Munich, 1977), pp. 196–206.

<sup>41</sup> See above, pp. 7 & 32.



than his more detailed abstract arguments—this study will not make the same extensive use the *Defence of Thomas Aquinas* as it does of other texts. However, the relationship between Demetrius and Nil is an important factor, and the existence of this theological text should be noted in this context.

As has been indicated in Chapter 1, Demetrius did compose a number of other more abstract pieces, looking at issues such as the authority of the fathers<sup>42</sup> and the procession of the Spirit.<sup>43</sup> A number of sermons are also known.<sup>44</sup> However, these texts cannot be securely dated to the period in question. Given the dating issues, the more abstract theological nature of these works, and the inadequate editorial state of the works, it has been decided to confine the present study to works of more direct and demonstrable relevance to the period, which do in any case also address central theological issues. A further work, the *Apologia di Procoro Cydonio*, should also be borne in mind, since it belongs to this period, although it cannot claim to be the work of Demetrius.<sup>45</sup> These texts are mentioned here for two main reasons: they illustrate that Demetrius' writings do run to more abstract and meditative theology, thus putting his more 'practical' approach in other writings in perspective; and the *Apologia di Procoro* is a reminder of the importance of Prochoros' activities for understanding Demetrius' position in the late 1360s. However, this material is not used directly in the following study.

The summary above of the sources used in this study should demonstrate that Demetrius' writings vary in subject matter and literary style, and merit consideration in their own right. However, the aim of the following two chapters, as indicated in the introduction earlier, is to give priority to topics covered in his writings which relate to issues of central importance at the time. A full account of the scope of Demetrius' ideas must wait until his works are published in such a form as allows them to speak for themselves. But in the meantime, the more focused aims of this study are greatly assisted by the nature of the writings themselves. Demetrius deals directly with a number of major issues, political and ecclesiastical. Moreover, he often addresses such issues head-on, tackling the problem from different angles, and with concise and clear statements of his preferred solution. Thus it is relatively easy to give a representative sample of Demetrius' political, theological and ecclesiastical thought, as expressed in his writings.

<sup>42</sup> See above, p. 33.

<sup>43</sup> See above, pp. 31 f.

<sup>44</sup> Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 64, section 1.2. None have been edited.

<sup>45</sup> See above, p. 44, note 20.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE POLITICAL SPHERE

#### 2.1. DEMETRIUS' UNDERSTANDING OF IMPERIAL OFFICE AND HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH HIS IMPERIAL PATRONS

Demetrius, as might be expected of a Byzantine politician educated in the Byzantine tradition, at times deals with emperors and the imperial office in standard rhetorical terms. His basic approach to the theory of imperial rule is unexceptionable: the emperor, as the ruler appointed by God, is in a unique position, and can be expected to exercise rule accordingly, and demonstrate suitable virtues. The *Prooimion I* gives a neat summary of this;<sup>1</sup> unsurprisingly, it idealises the imperial role. It starts by referring to the creation of humans in the image and likeness of God, and their responsibility to preserve this image.<sup>2</sup> This principle is then extended to the emperor: since he is appointed by God to rule over all, he is particularly required to preserve this likeness, being as he is second to God and bearing part of God's office.<sup>3</sup> If, then, the emperor's role is analogous to that of God,<sup>4</sup> he must have analagous virtues: he must be wise (*φρόνημος*), practice justice (*δικαιοσύνη*) and self-control (*σωφροσύνη*), possess courage (*ἀνδρεία*), goodness (*ἀγαθότης*) and benevolence (*φιλανθρωπία*), and seek to do his best for his subjects.<sup>5</sup> These are virtues of ancient pedigree, the full scope of which it is impossible to convey in translation; but the central idea is that the emperor should exercise these virtues because they are divine virtues: since his role is analogous to God's, his virtues should also resemble divine virtues.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tinnefeld, 'Vier Prooimien', p. 21, ll. 3–24.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 3–9.

<sup>3</sup> πῶς οὐκ ἐκεῖ (sc. in the case of the emperor) τοῦτο δικαιοῦτερον ἀξιόσωμεν, ὅπου πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ πάντων μὲν ἄρχειν τὸν βασιλέα, πάντας δὲ εἰς ἐκεῖνον ὡς περ εἷς τινα συνάγεσθαι κορυφὴν, μάλιστα τὴν θεῖαν δεικνύσιν ὁμοιότητα; ἄρχει μὲν γὰρ πάντων κατὰ φύσιν Θεός· τοῦτο δὲ μετ' ἐκεῖνον γίνεται καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς περ τι σύνθημα τῆς ἀξίας ἐκεῖνης ἐκεῖθεν διδόμενον. *Ibid.*, 10–15.

<sup>4</sup> εἰ...ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἡμῖν ἀνάλογον ἔστηκε τῷ Θεῷ. *Ibid.*, ll. 16 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 17–20.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 20–24.

As well as this theological idea of the divine appointment and providential role of the ruler, Demetrius also uses numerous allusions from both classical and theological texts in his rhetorical treatment of the imperial role. Plato's philosopher-king, for example, is a frequent reference in his letters and speeches, while David also occasionally serves as a model.<sup>7</sup> Demetrius corresponded with a number of emperors, and many of his letters to them are either wholly or partially encomiastic. Moreover, as has been seen, Demetrius also occasionally wrote specifically encomiastic pieces. Given this, it is no surprise that such writings are peppered with rhetorical presentations of the imperial rank in general and the individual incumbents in particular.

Despite this, Demetrius' rhetorical appreciation of the nature of the imperial office goes little beyond the formulaic. The theory of imperium is not something he discusses or develops: it is a backdrop, a part of the structure of his surroundings which is largely assumed. However, Demetrius' writings do give much insight into his relationship with, and attitude to, individual emperors. For the period to 1373, the emperors concerned are John VI Kantakuzenos and John V Palaiologos. His extensive correspondence with Manuel II<sup>8</sup> mostly, although not entirely, belongs to a later period.

There are two particularly important aspects of Demetrius' treatment of Kantakuzenos. The first concerns the relationship between them. Demetrius' family was evidently closely associated with Kantakuzenos in Thessalonica prior to Andronikos III's death in 1341. Much of the argument of the *First Oration to John Kantakuzenos* depends upon this: Demetrius emphasizes that his father—who also died in 1341, but before Andronikos III<sup>9</sup>—relied upon his relationship with Kantakuzenos to secure his family's future. Demetrius asserts that his father wished to guarantee a hereditary mutual relationship of service and patronage between Demetrius and Kantakuzenos: to illustrate this, Demetrius describes returning one day from his lessons to make obeisance to Kantakuzenos at his father's side, his father instructing him to regard Kantakuzenos as his master, and Kantakuzenos assenting to the relationship.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> E.g. in Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, II*, 154: 249, 41 f.; *ibid.*, 310 f.: 365, 23–33.

<sup>8</sup> On Manuel's side of this correspondence, see Dennis, *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*.

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> ἐνόμιζε γὰρ δεσπότην ἡμῖν καταλείπειν παντὸς πατρὸς ἡμερώτερον· καὶ ποτ' ἐλθὼν ἀπὸ διδασκαλείου καὶ προσκυνήσας μέμνημαι μετ' ἐκείνου, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου μὲν τοῦτ

In the *First Oration*, Demetrius repeatedly returns to this theme of his family's relationship with Kantakuzenos. When Demetrius' father was ill, Demetrius reports, Kantakuzenos provided support; after his death, Kantakuzenos stepped in to prevent the exploitation of the family and to assist Demetrius personally.<sup>11</sup> During the civil war which followed Andronikos III's death, Demetrius insists that while he (Demetrius) was still in Thessalonica he supported Kantakuzenos openly, despite the danger: he thought the throne should fall to Kantakuzenos.<sup>12</sup> Demetrius was not in Thessalonica at the time of the massacre in 1345, but he says that his mother and brother had a narrow escape and that his house was completely destroyed:<sup>13</sup> this he puts down to the family's partisanship of Kantakuzenos.<sup>14</sup>

Elsewhere in the address, Demetrius further emphasizes his claims on Kantakuzenos, using scriptural allusions to back his case. Demetrius, Demetrius insists, has always been of Kantakuzenos' household, which should give Kantakuzenos reason to care for him;<sup>15</sup> he and his father have been amongst Kantakuzenos' closest associates.<sup>16</sup> Demetrius also speaks of his orphaned siblings and widowed mother, describing how his mother prays for Kantakuzenos' health, salvation and the success of his rule.<sup>17</sup> By emphasizing that the Kydones family belongs to Kantakuzenos' 'household', and by mentioning his mother and siblings, Demetrius draws on biblical injunctions which insist that one should care for one's own dependents or family (*οἰκείοι*),<sup>18</sup> and for widows and orphans.<sup>19</sup>

So the *First Oration to John Kantakuzenos* emphasises a strong connection, of long standing, between the Kydones family and Kantakuzenos. The purpose of this is clear: it is to persuade Kantakuzenos—now emperor—to help Demetrius. However, the rhetorical function of the theme does not rob it of basis in fact. Kantakuzenos himself indicates that he regarded Demetrius as particularly close to him: when Kantakuzenos was planning to retire to

ἀκούσας, ὡς «σὸς οὗτος εἴη δεσπότης, ὦ παῖ», παρὰ σοῦ δὲ ταῦτά γε λέγοντος καὶ φιλενθροπότερα καὶ τούτων ὑπισχνουμένον καὶ δεικνύντος ἐν οἷς ἔλεγεσ ἠδεσθαι. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, p. 2, 35–p. 3, 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3, section 5.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5, para. 8.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5, paras. 9, 10.

<sup>14</sup> τοσαύτην ἡμᾶς τῆς εἰς σὲ φιλίας ἀπήτησαν δίκην. *Ibid.*, p. 5, 37.

<sup>15</sup> Το γ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆς σῆς οἰκίας ὑπάρχειν εἰκότως ἂν σε, βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τρέψειεν. *Ibid.*, p. 7, 24–25.

<sup>16</sup> Τῶν δὲ οἰκειοτάτων ἐγώ, καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ δὲ πατήρ. *Ibid.*, p. 7, 27 f.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8, 35 ff.

<sup>18</sup> 1 Tim 5:8.

<sup>19</sup> A common Old Testament theme, to which Demetrius directly alludes. *Ibid.*, p. 8, 24–30.

the Mangana, Demetrius was one of those Kantakuzenos planned to take with him.<sup>20</sup> Demetrius' subsequent career also supports the idea that he had claims upon Kantakuzenos sufficient to gain him a hearing: it is not improbable that those claims were along the lines described in the *First Oration*. A long-standing connection between Kantakuzenos and Demetrius' family can be accepted.

This relationship between Kantakuzenos and Demetrius' family naturally leads to a second important aspect of Demetrius' treatment of Kantakuzenos: that Demetrius accepts the legitimacy of Kantakuzenos' imperial claims. Demetrius' account of this is in agreement with the line taken by Kantakuzenos himself in his *History*: that Andronikos III sanctioned Kantakuzenos' claims, leaving the throne and care of the young John V to Kantakuzenos. This theme is strong in Kantakuzenos' account,<sup>21</sup> and Demetrius echoes it in the *Second Oration to John Kantakuzenos*, where he says that Andronikos III arranged matters in the only way he believed could preserve the succession: by entrusting to Kantakuzenos both power and the guardianship of his son.<sup>22</sup> The motif is not greatly emphasized by Demetrius—this, I think, is his only direct reference to it—but Demetrius evidently subscribed to it at the time.

Demetrius does, however, make more use of two further themes of Kantakuzenos' legitimacy, both of which are standard motifs in imperial discourse. The first is the theme of Kantakuzenos' personal qualities, which qualify him to rule. In the *Second Oration to John Kantakuzenos*, for example, Demetrius asserts that Kantakuzenos displayed imperial characteristics before becoming emperor: he embodies the Platonic idea of the philosopher-

<sup>20</sup> *συνείποντο δὲ αὐτῶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βίου ἀναχώρησιν καὶ Καβάσιλας Νικόλαος καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Κυδωνῆς...καὶ πολλῆς αὐτοῦ δ βασιλεὺς ἡξίου εὐμενείας καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις μάλιστα τῶν φίλων ἦγε καὶ τῶν ὀμιλητῶν.* Schopen, *Ioannis Cantacuzeni Eximperatoris Historiarum Liber IV*, p. 107, 14–20.

<sup>21</sup> As highlighted by Tinnefeld, F., 'Idealizing Self-centred Power Politics in the Memoirs of John VI Kantakouzenos', in Langdon, J.S., Reinart, S.W., Allen, J.S. and Ioannides, C.P. (eds.), *TO ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΝ. Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr., Vol. I: Hellenic Antiquity and Byzantium* (New Rochelle/NY 1993), pp. 397–415. Tinnefeld also comments on the correspondence between Demetrius' presentation of Kantakuzenos in his letters before 1354: 'Das enkomianische Bild des Kaisers... weithin dem Bild entspricht, das Kantakuzenos in seinen Memoiren von sich selbst entwirft.' Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 95.

<sup>22</sup> *...καλῶς ποιῶν μετὰ τῆς βασιλείας παρετίθει καὶ τὸν παῖδα τῷ φιλῷ, οὕτω μόνως ἐνὸν (οἱ ἐνεῖναι: cf Kurtz's comments on Cammelli's edition, Kurtz, E., 'Zur zweiten Reden des Demetrios Kydones auf den Kaiser Joh. Kantakouzenos', *BNJ* 5 (1926/7), p. 58) τὴν ἀρχὴν περισώθῃσθαι τῷ γένει πιστεύων.* Cammelli, 'Oratio ad Iohannem Cantacuzenum altera', p. 78, 35 ff.

king, and he has emerged as saviour in time of need.<sup>23</sup> Kantakuzenos, moreover, was *the* man suited to govern lawfully after the death of Andronikos III;<sup>24</sup> unfortunately, this was not appreciated, and instead those unfit to rule gained power.<sup>25</sup> The *First Oration to John Kantakuzenos* also expresses the idea that Kantakuzenos was the right man for the job in 1341: Demetrius wished the sceptre to go to Kantakuzenos, the man who intended to 'liberate the cities'<sup>26</sup>—a central concern for fourteenth-century Byzantines. Elsewhere, Demetrius attributes a range of suitable virtues to Kantakuzenos: wisdom, justice, courage, truth, benevolence.<sup>27</sup> This is only a sample of how Demetrius describes Kantakuzenos as personally qualified to rule; but it should demonstrate how Demetrius uses the idea to support Kantakuzenos' legitimacy.

The second theme is that of divine election. This is also a clear motif in Demetrius' *Second Oration to John Kantakuzenos*, although it is less emphasized. It comes through early in the speech, when the failure in 1341 to accept Kantakuzenos as the one man able to heal the state is lamented in a series of similes, one of which stylizes the rejected saviour as Cyrus, thus introducing a theme of divine election and mission.<sup>28</sup> In other passages, the divine election of Kantakuzenos is more directly expressed: God raised up Kantakuzenos to put an end to the evils, to heal the sick and those without hope;<sup>29</sup> God caused confusion amongst those who continued to rebel against the virtue of this emperor;<sup>30</sup> the barbarian who was threatening the Byzantines realized the folly of meddling with someone who could count on God's help, and instead came to terms.<sup>31</sup> Elsewhere, Demetrius

<sup>23</sup> *ὦ πρὸ τοῦ σχήματος βασιλεύων τοῖς τρόποις, καὶ τὸ πάλαι θρυλλούμενον ἐν σαντῶ δεικνύς, τὸν φιλόσοφον βασιλέα...σωτῆρ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς χρείας φανείς.* Ibid., p. 78, 13 ff.

<sup>24</sup> *ἀρετῇ δὲ ἡτμάζετο καὶ σοφία, καὶ περιττὸς ἐδόκει ὁ μετὰ τῶν νόμων δυνάμενος βασιλεύειν.* Ibid., p. 78, 37 f.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 78, 38–p. 79, 9.

<sup>26</sup> *εὐχὴ δέ μοι παύσασθαι μὲν τοὺς προδότας ὧν ἄρχουσι, τοῦ δὲ βουλομένου τὰς πόλεις ἐλευθεροῦν γένεσθαι τὸ σκήπτρον.* Loenertz, *Demetrios Cydones, Correspondence, I*, p. 4, 35 ff.

<sup>27</sup> For example, in the *Second Oration to John Kantakuzenos*: *Οὗτος ἡμῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς πᾶσι νενίκησε, καὶ φρονήσει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ τούτοις ἅπασιν, ὥσπερ ἐπαδὸν ἐν μέλει, τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν προσθεῖς.* Cammelli, 'Oratio ad Iohannem Cantacuzenum altera', p. 82, 40 ff. An array of the virtues Demetrius attributes to Kantakuzenos is given by Tinnefeld, together with a range of characters to whom Kantakuzenos is rhetorically compared. Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 96.

<sup>28</sup> Cammelli, op. cit., p. 78, 33 ff. In Deutero-Isaiah (i.e. chps. 40–55 of Isaiah), Cyrus appears as a messianic figure called by God to deliver Israel.

<sup>29</sup> Cammelli, op. cit., p. 80, 19–21.

<sup>30</sup> Cammelli, op. cit., p. 81, 8–13.

<sup>31</sup> Cammelli, op. cit., p. 81, 19–23.

embellishes this: God planned to grant power to Kantakuzenos, a man able in justice and good governance, but allowed troubles to come first in order to show that steadfast reason (*λόγισμον ἐστῶτα*) would prevail;<sup>32</sup> God has given power to the man able to exercise reason, and all agree that it is God's will for Kantakuzenos to be in power.<sup>33</sup>

Demetrius' relationship with John V Palaiologos was necessarily rather different from his relationship with Kantakuzenos, as outlined above. John, Andronikos III's eldest son, was a child when his father died, hence the civil war which ensued. When Kantakuzenos took power in 1347, John V remained nominally co-emperor, ostensibly on the understanding that he would regain his full rights after ten years.<sup>34</sup> In the years immediately prior to 1354, however, events took a turn which suggested a move to oust the Palaiologoi permanently in favour of the Kantakuzenoi.<sup>35</sup> John V's seizure of power in 1354 curtailed this. The exact nature and implications of this struggle are difficult and often unclear. Kantakuzenos retained influence after his abdication, and the part played by tension between factions in the years which followed is debatable.

Demetrius himself is a case in point. When Kantakuzenos abdicated in 1354, Demetrius was one of Kantakuzenos' closest associates: Kantakuzenos himself says that Demetrius was required to be with the emperor at all times, and was present when the news came that John V had entered Constantinople.<sup>36</sup> Given these circumstances, one might expect Demetrius to have been thoroughly suspect to the new regime. However, although Demetrius did spend a period in retirement in the Mangana monastery in Constantinople, he was recalled to service under John V, probably some time in 1356.<sup>37</sup> In his *Oration to John Palaiologos* he says he was reluctant to take service under John because he did not want to surrender his freedom for schol-

<sup>32</sup> Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondence*, I, 31: 6, 11–16.

<sup>33</sup> Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondence*, I, 33: 7, 21–26.

<sup>34</sup> Nicol, *Last Centuries*, p. 207.

<sup>35</sup> Military confrontation flared up between John V and Matthew Kantakuzenos in 1352 and resulted in a victory for Matthew. John V was then, if briefly, confined to Tenedos. Matthew was proclaimed emperor in 1353, while John V's name was removed from such proclamations, and Matthew was crowned co-emperor in 1354. Nicol, *Last Centuries*, pp. 237–240.

<sup>36</sup> Παρόντος δὲ καὶ Κυδωνῆ, ὃς ἔνδον βασιλείων διέτριβεν αἰεὶ, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν εὐμέλειαν, ἣν πολλὴν παρὰ βασιλέως ἔκαρποῦντο, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι μεσάζων ἀνάγκην εἶχεν αἰεὶ συνεῖναι βασιλεῖ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν. Schopen, *Ioannis Cantacuzeni Eximperatoris Historiarum Liber IV*, p. 285, 5–9.

<sup>37</sup> Several of his letters also come from this period. See Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe*, Vol I,I, pp. 14 f., with references.

arly pursuits.<sup>38</sup> The exact circumstances of Demetrius' reappointment are unclear; but evidently his previous connection with Kantakuzenos did not prevent his services being transferred to John V.

Demetrius' approach to John V is difficult to compare directly with his treatment of Kantakuzenos. Both the situation and the type of material are different. John V's legitimacy was not seriously questioned: the Palaiologoi were an established dynasty, whatever their origins, so there was not the same need to demonstrate John V's claims to succession. Demetrius also spends less time praising John's imperial virtues and attributes, or emphasizing divine election and approbation.<sup>39</sup> There is also in any case less material in which Demetrius *could* give expression to such ideas. Many of Demetrius' letters to Kantakuzenos are written as encomia on suitable occasions, such as times of victory in the struggles of the civil war. By contrast, Demetrius' letters to John V rarely refer to situations meriting encomia, but are more occupied with rather different concerns.<sup>40</sup> There is also no equivalent to the encomiastic *Second Oration to John Kantakuzenos* amongst Demetrius' writings for John: the *Oration to John Palaiologos* is not comparable.

Demetrius' treatment of John V is thus rather different from his treatment of Kantakuzenos. It is more personal in the sense that there are signs of a down-to-earth relationship less ornamented with rhetorical style, and more variable in tone. However, it is less personal in that he assumes John V's role as emperor without comment, using set-pieces to deal with the theoretical relationship between subject and emperor rather than to emphasise the emperor as an individual.

Tinnefeld, in a brief excursus on John V in his German edition of Demetrius' letters,<sup>41</sup> stresses John V's weakness in comparison with Kantakuzenos.

<sup>38</sup> Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondence*, I, pp. 11 ff., paras 3–6.

<sup>39</sup> Although this is not to say that there are no such examples. For example, in the *Oration to John Palaiologos*, standard elements such as the address "Ἀριστε βασιλεῦ" (Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondence*, I, p. 10, 10) and frequent use of ὁ πάντα ἄριστος βασιλεὺς combine with mention of John V's benevolence (ἡ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἐπίγνωσις: *ibid.*, p. 10, 22), the distinction of his mind (τὴν τῆς σῆς γνώμης φιλοτιμίαν: *ibid.*, 10, 23), and John's suitably imperial benevolence to Demetrius himself (Τὰ μὲν οὖν παρὰ σοῦ πάντα μοι χρηστά καὶ φιλόφθωπα, καὶ οἷα ἂν γένοιτο παρ' ἄρχοντος ἀγαθοῦ: *ibid.*, p. 13, 27 f.). Again, in Letter 89, written in response to an unspecified military victory, John is an example of magnanimity and all that is best (μεγαλοφυχίας καὶ πάντων τῶν καλλίστων παράδειγμα: Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondence*, I, 123: 89, 4 f.), compares favourably to Achilles, undertook the campaign with resolution and boldness (βουλεύμασι καὶ καρτερίᾳ: *ibid.*, 10), showing what a man of purpose (μετὰ φρονήματος: *ibid.*, 13) can achieve, acting with a righteousness which renders the events pleasing to God (δι' ἧς ἂν ἀρέσκοι καὶ Θεῷ τὰ γεγεννημένα: 21 f.).

<sup>40</sup> For more discussion of the correspondence with John, see below, pp. 151 f.

<sup>41</sup> Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe*, Vol I,I, pp. 198–205.

He describes John as a 'pale' figure compared with his father-in-law. However, it might be asked whether John's relative weakness is more apparent than real. Certainly, Kantakuzenos is a formidable figure of his time, and left a striking written legacy, while material relating to John does not enable a similarly rich picture to be drawn of him. But whether the difference in Demetrius' treatment of the two emperors can be taken as evidence to support a real qualitative difference between them is not so clear. The historical situation had changed; moreover, they naturally had very different relationships with Demetrius. When he took service under Kantakuzenos—a veteran politician and soldier—Demetrius was, by his own account, impoverished and desperate, not to mention young and inexperienced. When he took service under John V, he was none of these: it was John who was younger and less experienced. At this later stage in life, Demetrius may also have felt less inclined to express himself in encomia as he had done earlier. If John V was less interested in rhetoric than Kantakuzenos, encomia may in any case have been less necessary or even inadvisable: their absence may reflect an encouraged trend, rather than Demetrius' own preference. This, in turn, need not necessarily be viewed as negative: it could reflect a healthy preference for a more practical approach on John's part, and there are indeed passages in which Demetrius praises John V's practical exertions on his people's behalf.<sup>42</sup>

Whatever the case, the relationship between John V and Demetrius is very important for understanding Demetrius' role at different stages, and the potential impact and scope of his ideas. Relatively few of Demetrius' letters are addressed to John V, but to read much into this might give a misleading idea of the situation, since John V is constantly present in the background of other letters; moreover, much of the time Demetrius' dealings with John might not be observable through letters since their physical proximity would have given no call for letters. In his letters, it is true that Demetrius is at times critical of and bitter towards John. But Demetrius was also regarded highly enough to be kept on the political scene for decades, was involved with crucial aspects of John's policies, and was at John's side at key moments—especially, as will be seen, in the 1360s. Even after periods of disfavour, reconciliation was apparently possible between the two. The exact nature of their relationship is impossible to assess: but it was clearly a complex one, in which it would be a mistake to leap to conclusions based on evidence of disagreement, without bearing in mind the larger picture.

<sup>42</sup> For example, at the end of the *Pro subsidio Latinorum*, where Demetrius speaks of the great sacrifice and effort made by John in going to Hungary for the sake of his people. PG 154, 999D–1001A.

## 2.2. FOREIGN POLICY (EXCLUDING RELATIONS WITH THE LATIN WEST)

Demetrius' writings also contain considerable discussion of relations with some of Byzantium's closest geographical, non-Latin neighbours. Relations with Latins, both proximate and distant to Byzantium, will be discussed later. For relations with non-Latins, two of Demetrius' orations are particularly useful: the *Pro Subsidio Latinorum* and the *De non reddenda Callipoli*. They discuss at some length relations with the Bulgarians, Serbs and Turks, and mention, significantly but in less detail, the role of both 'Illyrians and Paionians' (Hungarians) and 'Skyths' (Mongols).

This section fulfils two functions within this study. First, it aims to provide an account of Demetrius' assessment of the Byzantine situation. As such, it provides material on a number of levels: historical detail, basic analysis of the consequences of certain events, discussion of attitudes and of political and psychological trends. But on a second level, this section aims to illustrate how far Demetrius, a Byzantine political functionary, was preoccupied with the fate of his compatriots, engaged with political realities, and even instrumental in shaping events. This, politically speaking, could be seen as a parallel to Demetrius' intellectual roots in Greek classical learning and the Greek Christian tradition, as described in Chapter 1. Demetrius' primary context within the Byzantine system, concerned with Byzantine interests, is thus emphasized, as an important corrective to tendencies to see him as somehow 'un-Byzantine' because of his pro-western opinions.

### 2.2.1. *The Turkish Threat*

The major force disrupting the political geography in the region during the period under study was the Turkish threat, particularly, and increasingly so over the course of the century the threat from the Ottoman Turks. This threat provides much of the impetus for Demetrius' approach to foreign policy. It is also the first major theme of the *Pro subsidio Latinorum*.

Demetrius normally uses generic terms—*βάββαροι*,<sup>43</sup> *τούρκοι*—to refer to Turks. However, it is important to remember both that the Turks were by no means a single entity, and that contemporaries, certainly at Demetrius' level, would have been well aware of this. The fourteenth century saw the

<sup>43</sup> *βάββαροι*, however, is also used to describe other groups: Demetrius can also use it to refer to Skyths, Bulgarians and Serbs, Latins of various hues, and even himself, with varying impact.

rise of a number of emirates in western Asia Minor, and it was by no means evident immediately that the Ottomans posed the greatest threat: initially, it was the coastal emirates which had the most impact internationally, with the Ottomans a land-locked power of moderate size. Byzantine policies early in the fourteenth century took into account the different groups of Turks. Andronikos III, for example, together with his advisor Kantakuzenos, formed a close alliance with the emirate of Aydin.<sup>44</sup> When this alliance was cut short by the western attack on Smyrna (part of the emirate) in 1344,<sup>45</sup> a settlement with the Ottomans became more important, and Ottoman forces played a major role in the events of the civil war and subsequent conflict within Byzantium. Byzantine policies were accustomed to take into account different Turkish leaders, and changing conditions.

Demetrius opens the section dealing with the Turks in the *Pro subsidio Latinorum* with a catalogue of their crimes and depravities: he denounces them for false beliefs, opposition to the truth, and, in general, a despicable manner of life, concluding that they are the principle cause of the Byzantines' present situation.<sup>46</sup> He then continues with a description of the Byzantines' past and present sufferings at the hands of the Turks. Although he says that he only intends to speak of the last forty years, not ancient history, what follows clearly refers to far more than forty years. First he describes the erstwhile extent and strength of the empire, listing former Byzantine territories and describing their military capability: the intention is to remind his audience of their former glory, of what they could aspire to.<sup>47</sup> Then he describes how the Turks have taken all these territories, with violence, blasphemy and enslavement, finally crossing the Hellespont and establishing themselves on the European side.<sup>48</sup> The result is that the Byzantines are beleaguered, hemmed in on all sides, effectively imprisoned within the walls of Constantinople.<sup>49</sup> This narrative sets the scene for the rest of the speech: what is necessary—in particular, what allies are necessary—in order to reverse this situation?

This account highlights a central assumption in Demetrius' presentation of the Turks. The Turks are represented as fundamentally uncivilized, impi-

<sup>44</sup> See Lemerle, P., *L'Emirat d'Aydin, Byzance et L'Occident: recherches sur "La Geste d'Umur Pacha"* (Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1957).

<sup>45</sup> See below, p. 73.

<sup>46</sup> *Ὅστοι γὰρ μόνοι σχεδὸν τῶν ἡμετέρων κακῶν εἰσὶν αἰτιώτατοι, καὶ οἷς τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας συμφορᾶς δικαίως ἂν τις λογίσαιτο.* PG 154, 964B.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 964C–965B.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 965B–D.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 965D–968A.

ous, cruel, barbarous—all characteristics directly in contrast with the Christians of the *oikoumene*. Another opposition Demetrius uses, here and elsewhere, is that of freedom (*ἐλευθερία*) versus slavery (*δουλεία*). It is better, in his eyes, to resist the Turks than to succumb, since they aim at nothing less than destruction of freedom.<sup>50</sup> Freedom is a key concern for Demetrius, as will be seen later in this study. For the present, it is enough to note that Demetrius' presents the Turks as the the antithesis of civilization and of freedom.

However, Demetrius also discusses the Turks in less general and ideological terms, giving a rather more detailed and practical assessment of the Turkish threat. In the *De non reddenda Callipoli*, he gives an account of the strategic situation, mentioning not just the situation at the time of writing, but also earlier developments.

'We have,' he says near the beginning of the speech, 'long considered Gallipoli the most precious of our possessions, most able to be of assistance in the war against the barbarians'; this, he continues is commonly agreed, even when there is great dispute over other matters.<sup>51</sup> It has been learnt from experience: it was because of Gallipoli that the European Greeks survived when the Turks took Asia.<sup>52</sup> Of the fortified sites of the Hellespont, it is the most strategic, lying on the straits, which the Byzantines were able to use to identify and intercept the 'barbarian' ships and thus protect their people.<sup>53</sup>

That Gallipoli marks a strategic point on the Dardanelles is no new idea, but Demetrius' comments emphasize that the Lampsakos-Gallipoli axis was indeed considered crucial in this period,<sup>54</sup> and that possession of

<sup>50</sup> E.g.: PG 154, 1017B: to surrender Gallipoli is to prefer servitude to freedom (see below, 87); *ibid.*, 1020B (below, 88); *ibid.*, 1024A: after dealing with the Bulgarians and Serbs, the Turks will return and demand not just Gallipoli, tribute and produce, but freedom itself (see below, 64f.); *ibid.*, 1028D: the Turks demand both the city and freedom.

<sup>51</sup> *ἦν ἀεὶ πάντων τῶν ἡμετέρων κτημάτων ἡγούμεθα τιμιώτερον, καὶ μεγίστην ἡμῖν συντέλειαν πρὸς τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πόλεμον παρασχέσθαι δυνάμενον....περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἤκουεν ἂν τις ἀλλήλοις πολλοὺς ἐναντιομένους...φιλόνηκος δὲ οὕτως οὐδεὶς, ὥστ' ἀξιοῦν ἄλλο τι τῆς Καλλιπόλεως προτιμᾶν.* PG 154, 1012B.

<sup>52</sup> *Τοῦ δ' οὕτω πάντας περὶ τοῦ φρουρίου φρονεῖν αἴτιον ἡ πείρα....Τοῦ γὰρ μὴ παντάπασιν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τινος κύματος κατακλυσθέντας μηκέτ' εἶναι πάντας ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Ἑλλήνας ὅσοι τὴν Εὐρώπην οἰκοῦσαν, ὅτε τὴν Ἀσίαν ἤγον καὶ ἔφερον οἱ νῦν ἡμῶν ἐπικείμενοι, τοῦτ' αἴτιον ἦν.* *Ibid.*, 1012C.

<sup>53</sup> *Ὅτι δὴ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ τειχῶν πάντων ἐπικαιρότατον ὄν, καὶ πρὸς τῶν πόρων καὶ τῶν στενῶν κείμενον, ὅθεν αἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀναγόμεναι νῆες οὐκ ἔμελλον λήσειν, ταῖς ἡμετέραις τριήρεσιν ἐφορμούσας αὐτόθι παρεῖχεν ἄδειαν τοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνείργειν ληστὰς, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀσφαλῶς τὰς πόλεις οἰκεῖν.* PG 154, 1012C.

<sup>54</sup> Ahrweiler discusses the increased importance of the Lampsakos-Gallipoli axis, as opposed to the Abydos-Sestos axis, from the 13th century onwards. Ahrweiler, H., *Byzance*

Gallipoli was regarded as providing a real advantage in regulating movement in the area. Demetrius adds to this impression, moreover, by giving an account of the consequences of the earthquake in 1354, which provided the opportunity for the Turks to occupy Gallipoli.<sup>55</sup> After this, he says, the Chersonese and Thrace fell swiftly: within a year tribute was being exacted, and Constantinople cut off, all as a result of the fall of Gallipoli.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, Demetrius describes the effect the news of the taking of Gallipoli had on morale. In Constantinople, he says, it was held to herald the fall of the City: many decided to take ship and flee.<sup>57</sup> This account is fascinating for a number of reasons. It suggests that the Byzantines were already at this stage recognizably tributaries of the Turks.<sup>58</sup> Further, the reaction of despair, and resultant migration, which Demetrius alleges, suggest a considerable effect both on demography and loyalty.

Demetrius, then, regards Gallipoli as strategically too important to be given up, and demonstrates its importance by referring to historical examples which illustrate the Turkish threat. His discussion of Gallipoli, however, brings out two further elements of his understanding of the situation: his estimation of the fundamental nature of the threat—ruling out all attempts at conciliation—and his estimation of the potential for the Byzantines, at this point in time, to survive.

Demetrius is clear that the Turks threaten the very existence of Byzantium, and his stance on Gallipoli reflects this. The Turks, he points out, are at present restrained vis-à-vis the Byzantines because they are busy dealing with the Bulgarians and Serbs, but when that is done, they will turn their

*et la mer. La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VIIe–XVe siècles* (Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1966), pp. 323 ff.

<sup>55</sup> Nicol, *Last Centuries*, pp. 241 ff.

<sup>56</sup> Τοῦ γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα συμβάντος σεισμοῦ ὅς πάντα ἀνέτρεψε, καὶ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο τοῖς βαρβάροις προδεδωκότος, ἢ τε Χερσόνησος πᾶσα τοῦτους ἐδούλευσε, καὶ τὰς ἐν Θράκῃ πόλεις δι' ἐαυτῶν ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ πρὶν ἔτος ἐξήκειν, φόρους τε ἡμᾶς ἐπράξαντο, καὶ τὴν πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἔτεμον γῆν... Κἄν τις... αἰτίαν τὴν Καλλίπολιν καὶ τὴν ἐκείνης ἀπώλειαν εἶναι φῆ, οὐδένα ἂν ἔχοι τὸν ἀντιλέγοντα. PG 154, 1012D.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 1013A–B.

<sup>58</sup> The *Apologia I* also refers (in the early/mid-1360s) to tribute: see below, p. 106. Unless good grounds can be produced for suggesting that there were later changes made to the content of these passages, these two references provide useful information as to the relationship between the Ottomans and the Byzantines in the 1350s and 1360s. This is in contrast to accounts which tend to assume that questions of tribute and vassalage relate primarily to the 1370s and later, e.g. Gill, *J. Byzantium and the Papacy, 1198–1400* (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, NJ), p. 225; Nicol, *Last Centuries*, p. 277.

attention to the Byzantines again, and enslave them all.<sup>59</sup> If they are prepared to put such effort into acquiring such a small prey as Gallipoli, the Turks will undoubtedly exert themselves to acquire Constantinople, the greatest of all cities.<sup>60</sup> To hand Gallipoli over, in these circumstances, is illogical: it would solve nothing, given the real intentions of the Turks. The situation would arise again, and the threat be no less:<sup>61</sup> the Turks would demand other cities, but there is not an endless supply of cities to be surrendered to them.<sup>62</sup> Surrendering Gallipoli would in fact simply whet the Turks' appetite:<sup>63</sup> it would bring no advantages, but simply weaken the Byzantines' situation still more.

Demetrius' suggestion of how Byzantium might survive is also illuminating. He suggests that Constantinople might survive by relying on the sea for provisions, rather than the land—as, he says, it has done many times before in straitened circumstances; there are many people able to 'harvest' the sea, and Constantinople has even known its greatest prosperity when it has been unable to take advantage of its landward territories.<sup>64</sup> This, of course, adds to Demetrius' argument for retaining Gallipoli, since it is important in terms of maritime strategy. In terms of the nature of the Turkish threat, it also suggests that Demetrius did not envisage the Ottomans disrupting maritime traffic, and that he thought it possible for Byzantium to survive as a maritime state even when deprived of its hinterland by the Turks.

<sup>59</sup> Οὔτοι δὲ μετὰ τὴν Μυσῶν πρότερον τὴν Τριβελῶν νῦν ἄγονοι καὶ φέρονσι βασιλείαν τοσοῦτον ἀναπνεῖν ἡμῖν συγχωροῦντες, ὅσον πρὸς ἐκείνους ἡσχόληται. Εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τάκεϊ διοικήσονται, ἐπανήξουσι μὲν ἡμῖν φοβεροί, ζητήσουσι δὲ οὐ τὴν Καλλίπολιν τότε, οὐδὲ περὶ φόρων τότε ἀκριβολογήσονται, οὐδὲ στάχουσιν οὐδ' ἀμπέλοις ἀπειλήσουσιν ἐπιθήσεσθαι· ἀλλ' ἀπαιτήσουσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ τὸ χρῆμα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἡμᾶς γνῶναι τοὺς ὄντας δεσπότης. PG 154, 1024A–B.

<sup>60</sup> ὁ γὰρ τοσαῦτα μὲν ὑπισχνούμενος, τοσαῦτα δὲ ἀπειλῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταύτης γενέσθαι κύριος, τί οὐκ ἂν πιστεύοιτο δράσειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν πόλεων... κτήσασθαι; Ibid., 1028A.

<sup>61</sup> Ἔστω γάρ, καὶ συγκεχωρήσῃ τὴν Καλλίπολιν ἐκδόντας, τὸν σίτον κομίσασθαι οὕτω μὲν οὐκ ἔν τὸ παρὸν μόνον ἔτος ἐν ἀφθόνοις διάξομεν... ἀλλὰ τελευτήσει μὲν τοῦτο· ἀναλωθήσονται δὲ οἱ καρποί· καὶ πάλιν ὁ σίτος ἐν ἀκμῇ, καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἀσθενῆ, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ὡσπερ πυρετοῦ περιόδου ἤξουσιν καὶ ἡμῖν δεήσει τροφῶν. Ibid., 1028C–D.

<sup>62</sup> Ἄλλ' οὐθ' ἡμῖν ἄπειροι πόλεις, δι' ὧν τοὺς καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἀμνητοὺς ἢ τρυγητοὺς ἀνησόμεθα, οὐθ' οἱ βάρβαροι συγχωρήσουσιν ἡμῖν προῖκα τρυφᾶν. Ibid., 1028D.

<sup>63</sup> εἰ ταύτην τοῖς βαρβάροις αἰτοῦσιν οὐκ ἀντιλέγειν τολμήσομεν, τὴν ἐκείνων δύναμιν δεδιότες... τί τὸ κωλύον καὶ δεύτερον αὐτοῖς αἰτοῦσιν καὶ τρίτον πεισθῆναι; Ibid., 1025A.

<sup>64</sup> καὶ πολλάκις ἴσμεν τοῦτο συμβάν, ὅταν ἢ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων οὐρανίων ὁ τῆς γῆς τόκος κωλύεται, ἢ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων τουτωνὶ βλάπτεται, ποιούντων ἂ νῦν ἀπειλοῦσι. Τότε γὰρ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἡμῖν ἢ θάλαττα γίνεται· καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ ταύτην ἀροῦντες καὶ σπεῖροντες· καὶ πολλάκις ἢ πόλις τὰ τῆς περιοικίδος μὴ συγκαμοσαμένη, ἐν ἀφθονωτέροις δύνει. Ibid., 1029A.

There is also a third aspect to Demetrius' depiction of the Turkish threat, besides his ideological opposition to the Turks and his assessment of the strategic situation. This is the question of Turkish-influenced elements within Byzantine society itself. In a passage near the end of the *Pro subsidio Latinorum*, Demetrius describes the behaviour of some Byzantines. There are some, he says, who go as far as considering servitude to the 'barbarians' preferable to obeying the 'Romans'. Demetrius describes the behaviour of such people: they openly go over to the 'barbarians'; they spend time with them and receive rewards for this treason; they drink with them and applaud 'our' downfall; they drink the barbarians' health, and that of their families, and pray for the barbarians to triumph. After this, they return, and use their standing with their (Turkish) 'masters' as a threat against their compatriots, who they thereby influence to support the Turks in the same way. Moreover, this behaviour is open: they publicly promote the Turkish cause, with the intention of betraying the City and enabling the Turks to have complete victory.<sup>65</sup>

This account of support for the Turks within Byzantium is no doubt tendentious. However, difficult though the idea may be, because of its implications, this aspect of the Byzantine political scene must be taken very seriously. Demetrius' writings certainly present it as an important element. An underlying assumption of the *De non reddenda Callipoli* is that there is a substantial voice in Byzantium favouring a pro-Turkish policy: the emphatic manner in which Demetrius drives home his message—that the Turks are not to be trusted, that accommodation to their wishes brings servitude—strongly supports this.

Demetrius' approach to the Turkish threat thus combines elements of ideological opposition, evaluation of the military and strategic situation, and criticism of perceived collaborators within Byzantine society. He considers

<sup>65</sup> *καὶ τῶν πολιτευομένων πολλοὶ οὕτω χειροῦνται τὰς γνώμας γεγονόσιν, ὡς ἔχειν τι καὶ καλὸν λέγειν, τὴν ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις τούτοις δουλείαν, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους βαρύτερα ἐπιτάττειν. Ὡστε καὶ φανερώς ἐπέκεινους ἀποδημοῦσι, καὶ ῥητούς τινας ἐκείνοις σύνεισι χρόνους· καὶ πρόβατα, καὶ βοῦς, καὶ ἵππους, καὶ ἀργύρια, μισθοὺς ἔχουσι τῆς ἡμῶν προδοσίας· καὶ συμπίνοντες ἐκείνοις, τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπώλειαν ᾄδουσι καὶ τὴν τοῦ δεινῆς οἰκίαν, ἢ τὴν τῆς γυναικὸς ὄραν, ἢ τὴν παιδῶν ἐκείνοις προπίνουσιν· εὐχονται δὲ παρὰ σφίσιν ἰδεῖν ὑπὸ πάντων προσκυνουμένους· ταῦτ' εἰπόντες καὶ πράξαντες ἐπανήκον, ἐνδεικνύμενοι τοῖς πολίταις ὡς εἰ μὴ σιγήσουσι, πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας αὐτῶν κατεροῦσι, τοὺς ἀλάστορας ἐκείνους οὐκ ὀκνοῦντες τοῦτο καλεῖν. Οἱ δὲ φρίττουσι, καὶ συνεύχονται γῆρας τοῖς δικαίως ἂν ἀπαχθεῖσι μνησθῆναι τι καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν πόντων δεόμενοι· καὶ τοσαύτην παρρησίαν οἱ παρ' ἐκείνους μισθαροῦντες προσειληφότες οὐκ ὀκνοῦσιν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἀναίδην δημηγοροῦντες, καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντες, ἐξ ὧν αὐτοῖς χαριόονται· ὅπερ ἐστὶ προδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ κυρίους ἐκείνους σαφῶς πάντων ποιῆσαι. Ibid., 1005A–B.*

the struggle with the Turks as fundamentally a struggle for freedom against servitude, and for the very existence of the Byzantines. This understanding determines his attitude to international relations on a wider scale.

### 2.2.2. Bulgarians and Serbs<sup>66</sup>

It is not true to say that Demetrius speaks of Bulgarians and Serbs in an undifferentiated manner, but there are key elements—political, geographical and ideological—which link both groups in his presentation, and for the most part he does deal with them together. Because of this, they will be treated together here.

As has been noted,<sup>67</sup> in the *Pro subsidio Latinorum* Demetrius uses his account of Turkish aggression to introduce the question around which the speech is constructed: given this situation, and given that the Byzantines cannot stand alone, what sort of allies do they need?<sup>68</sup> He gives a list of criteria: the allies must share the same faith;<sup>69</sup> they must be closely connected in various ways, including military and administrative affairs;<sup>70</sup> they must be superior to the 'barbarians' in number, boldness, judgement and experience of warfare;<sup>71</sup> they should have had previous experience of fighting the Turks;<sup>72</sup> they should be reliable and able to stay the course;<sup>73</sup> and they should have sufficient wealth for the enterprise.<sup>74</sup> In short, wealthy and magnanimous allies are needed.<sup>75</sup>

Demetrius uses this framework in the rest of his speech as a basis for arguing that the Latins are the most suitable allies: they alone fulfill these criteria.

<sup>66</sup> Demetrius usually refers to the Bulgarians and Serbs as 'Mysians' and 'Triballoi', following convention. However, on occasion he does use the term *βούλγαρος* for Bulgarians, and can also, as already noted (see above, p. 57, note 43) refer to both Serbs and Bulgarians as 'barbarians'.

<sup>67</sup> See above, p. 58.

<sup>68</sup> *Σκέψασθαι δὴ, τίνων δεῖ τοῖς ἡμῖν συνδιοίσοσι τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον, ἢν ἐντεῦθεν, τίνας ἐλέσθαι δεῖ, γνώριμον ἡμῖν καταστῆ. PG 154, 969B.*

<sup>69</sup> *ἀνάγκη... τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον δόξης ἡμῖν κοινωρεῖν. Ibid., 969B.*

<sup>70</sup> *καὶ ἄλλως ἡμῖν οἰκείους καὶ συνήθεις ὑπάρχειν· λέγω δὲ κοινὰς ποθ' ἡμῖν κάκεινοις γενέσθαι στρατείας καὶ διοικήσεις, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιμιξίας· καὶ ὅλως εἶναι τι καὶ πρότερον τὸ συναγον. Ibid., 969B.*

<sup>71</sup> *καὶ πληθεῖ, καὶ τόλμῃ, καὶ φρονήμασι, καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰς μάχας ἐμπειρίᾳ δεῖ τοὺς συμμάχους τῶν βαρβάρων προέχειν. Ibid., 969C.*

<sup>72</sup> *καὶ πρὸς γε εἴ τι μὴ ταύτην αὐτοῖς εἶναι πρώτην τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους συμπλοκῆς τὴν ἀρχήν. Ibid., 969C.*

<sup>73</sup> *Τῆς δὲ βεβαιότητος, καὶ τοῦ μὴ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγνωσμένων ἀφίστασθαι, οὐκ οἶδ' εἶ τι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναγκαιοτέραν συντέλειαν ἡγεῖται. Ibid., 969C.*

<sup>74</sup> *Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲν ἐστὶν εἰς ὃ τι τούτων ἐκάστω χρησόμεθα, χρημάτων ἀπόντων· μάλλον δὲ μὴ πλείστων παρόντων. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν, οὗ σχεδὸν πάντων μάλιστα δεῖ. Ibid., 969D.*

<sup>75</sup> *Δεῖ δὴ πλουσίαν ἡμῖν καὶ μεγαλοψύχων συμμάχων. Ibid., 969D.*



The shape of the argument requires that the Serbs and Bulgarians—the main alternative—fall short. But in presenting them in this way, Demetrius does not confine himself to simply demonstrating that they do not fit the criteria; he also gives an account of recent relations with Serbs and Bulgarians, in an attempt to show that their unsuitability as allies goes further than simple inadequacy.

He starts his account in the *Pro subsidio* with the semblance of a positive appreciation. Perhaps, he says, it might be asked what objection can there be to the Mysians and Triballoi: they have long shared a common faith with the Byzantines, as well as other things.<sup>76</sup> In other words, they fulfil the first two criteria. This question opens up a wide field of discussion of the cultural and cultic links between the Byzantines and their Orthodox neighbours, perhaps best represented by Obolensky's classic, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*.<sup>77</sup> However, although Demetrius here acknowledges a common bond between the Byzantines and these peoples who became Christian under their auspices, he does not expand upon this idea. Instead, he immediately points to the invalidity of this argument in the circumstances.

First, he stresses their impotence—a relatively minor charge. He would not object to the Mysians and Triballoi as allies, he says, *provided* they combined their piety and cultural similarities with other necessary criteria.<sup>78</sup> But unless God were to intervene unexpectedly, their virtue/strength is not enough.<sup>79</sup> Demetrius reminds his audience of the poverty of these peoples: they are not even self-sufficient.<sup>80</sup>

But Demetrius' arguments against the Serbs and Bulgarians are far more serious than this. It is not just that the Serbs and Bulgarians are weak: they are more dangerous than that. He points to their bad faith. They easily change their minds and break their oaths.<sup>81</sup> They have only been known to campaign outside their borders in order to take advantage of the

<sup>76</sup> ἀνθρώπους ὁμοίους ἡμῖν, καὶ τῷ Θεῷ προσκεκμημένους, καὶ πολλῶν ἐν πολλοῖς καιροῖς πραγμάτων κεκοινωνηκότας ἡμῖν. Ibid., 972C.

<sup>77</sup> Obolensky, D., *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500–1453* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1971).

<sup>78</sup> Οὐδὲν εἶπον ἄν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἂν συνείπον, εἰ μετὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ τοῦ γνωρίμου ἡμῖν εἶναι, καὶ τὰλλα τοῖς ἀνδράσι προσῆν, ὧν μετεῖναι δεῖν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀγωνιουμένοις ἐλέγομεν. PG 154, 972C–D.

<sup>79</sup> Ἀρκεῖν δὲ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην οὐκ ἂν εἴπομι, ἕως ἂν μὴν παρὰ δόξαν ὁ Θεὸς ἡμᾶς σώξεν ἐθέλη. Ibid., 972D.

<sup>80</sup> Νυνὶ δ' ὄρατε τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτων πενίαν, καὶ ὡς οὐδ' αὐτοῦ που καθημένοις ἀρκεῖ τὰ ὄντα. Ibid., 972D.

<sup>81</sup> μικρὰ προφάσει λύειν οὐ δκνοῦσι τὰ ἐγνωσμένα: μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα. Ibid., 972D.

Byzantines' difficulties with the 'barbarians' to seize Byzantine territories for themselves.<sup>82</sup> This history makes it unlikely that they can ever be of any service to the Byzantines.<sup>83</sup> They consider it to their advantage for the Byzantines to be in difficulties. Why would they help the Byzantines, when they pray for their (the Byzantines') troubles to increase?<sup>84</sup>

This assessment of the Bulgarians and Serbs reflects an important aspect of the Balkan situation in the fourteenth century. The Serbian empire reached its zenith under Stephen Dušan (d. 1355), who expanded the empire at the expense of territories in Thessaly, Macedonia and Epirus, taking advantage of the civil war in Byzantium.<sup>85</sup> Bulgaria was not in such an influential position in this period, but had a recent history of attempting to do the same.<sup>86</sup> The threat posed to Byzantium by both groups was therefore extremely relevant, and, as will be seen, not merely a historical question in the 1360s: the level of the threat may have reduced somewhat, but it had by no means disappeared. Therefore Demetrius' attitude, particularly his scepticism regarding the relevance of shared faith, is unsurprising. With regard to the ecclesiastical relationships between Serbia and Bulgaria and Constantinople, these seem also in any case to have been somewhat fraught.<sup>87</sup>

That these difficulties in dealing with Bulgaria and Serbia were familiar to Demetrius and his audience is borne out by the *Pro subsidio* itself. Demetrius continues the speech by giving more substance to the claims he has just made: the facts, he declares, bear out what he has just said.<sup>88</sup> The Byzantines have made many diplomatic approaches to Serbs and Bulgarians, reminding them of what they have in common—but to no avail.<sup>89</sup> Instead, Serbs and

<sup>82</sup> Ὑπερορίους δὲ στρατείας τίς ἔγνω τούτους ἐστρατευμένους; ...εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις συμφοραῖς ἀπεχρήσαντο, καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους τούτους ἀσχολίαν πλεονεξίας καιρὸν ἡγησάμενοι, πολλὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων παρέσπασαν. Ibid., 972D–973A.

<sup>83</sup> οὐ ποτέ φημι τούτους λυσιτελήσειν ἡμῖν. Ibid., 973A.

<sup>84</sup> Πῶς οὖν τὰς παρούσας τύχας συνεπικουφιοῦσιν ἡμῖν, οἳ γ' αἰεὶ ταύτας αὔξασθαι συνεχῶς εὐξαιντ' ἄν; Ibid., 973B.

<sup>85</sup> On Serbia in this period, see Soulis, G.C., *The Serbs and Byzantium during the Reign of Tsar Stephen Dušan (1331–1355) and his Successors* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., 1984).

<sup>86</sup> E.g. Nicol, *Last Centuries*, pp. 168 f.; Pitcher, D.E., *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire: from the earliest times to the end of the sixteenth century* (Brill, Leiden, 1972), p. 43.

<sup>87</sup> For more detail, see below, pp. 243–246.

<sup>88</sup> ὅτι ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐκ λογισμῶν μόνον συμβαίνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέπουσιν, ἔξεστι τοῖς εἰρημένους συντίθεσθαι. PG 154, 973B.

<sup>89</sup> Ἀναμνήσθητε διὰ πόσων πρεσβεῖων πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας διειλέθητε ταύτης, ποσάκις αὐτούς καὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ κοινῶν ἱερῶν, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀνεμνήσατε κοινωνίας. Ἄθ' οὖν ἐκινήθησαν ἢ τῶν ἡμετέρων γοῦν, εἴ τι βιάσασθαι οἴοι τ' ἦσαν, ἀπέσχοιτο; Ibid., 973B–C.

Bulgarians attacked Byzantine cities.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, Demetrius accuses them of not even acting according to self-interest: he accuses them of hating the Byzantines so much that they are willing to destroy themselves (by removing the buffer zone between themselves and the Turks, which could shield them from Turkish attack)<sup>91</sup> in order to see the Byzantines suffer.<sup>92</sup>

In the case of the Bulgarians, Demetrius adds further detail. One grievance is that although a marriage alliance was made,<sup>93</sup> this did not produce any advantage for the Byzantines.<sup>94</sup> Demetrius also cites their attitude to John V's journey to Hungary.<sup>95</sup> He describes their attitude to the idea as first obstructive, then deceptively supportive, then deceitful in the extreme. Had the Bulgarians not barred the way to the allies, Demetrius claims, John V would long ago have brought the 'barbarians' to justice.<sup>96</sup> The Bulgarians are responsible for the current evils: if they kept their promises, the Byzantines would now be living in peace.<sup>97</sup> Thus Demetrius blames the Bulgarians for the current situation by referring to current affairs, not past history.

However, the specific context of this limits its applicability. In the *Pro subsidio*, Bulgaria appears in a particularly unfavourable light presumably because Bulgaria was at that very point in time causing political difficulties, and the Byzantines had very recently even been at war with them.<sup>98</sup> But in principle, as Demetrius' comments reveal, there was nothing against alliance with the Bulgarians: considerable effort had been made to achieve it. Furthermore, Demetrius himself refers to the Serbs rather differently in the *De non reddenda Callipoli*, several years later, where he says that they have recently been seeking alliance; he advises co-operation, although with some

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 973C–D.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 973D–976A.

<sup>92</sup> ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μίσους ἀντοῖς περιῆν, ὥσθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ ἡμέτερα κακοῦν ἠροῦντο καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ οἰκεία προσαπολλύναι. Ibid., 973D.

<sup>93</sup> John V's eldest son, Andronikos (IV) married Maria, daughter of John Asen of Bulgaria in 1355. Meyendorff, J., 'Alexis and Roman: a study in Byzantino-Russian Relations (1352–1354)', *BS* 28 (1967), p. 286.

<sup>94</sup> PG 154, 976A–B.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 976B–D.

<sup>96</sup> Πάλαι γὰρ ἂν δίκην ἔδοσαν οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐλθόντος, εἰ μὴ τοῖς συμμάχοις οὔτοι τὰς διόδους ἀπέκλεισαν. Ibid., 976C.

<sup>97</sup> Ὡς εἴ τις ἀχθετα τοῖς παροῦσι, τούτοις τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν κακῶν λογιζέσθω. Ὡς εἴ γ' ἐμμένειν οὔτοι τοῖς ὑπεσχημένοις ἐβούλοντο... πάλαι ἂν ἡμεῖς τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ὕβρεως ἀπηλλάγημεθα, καὶ μεθ' ἡσυχίας τὰς πόλεις ᾤκοῦμεν. Ibid., 976C–D.

<sup>98</sup> Nicol, *Last Centuries*, pp. 262 f.; Pitcher, *Historical Geography*, p. 43 (with map XI); Fine, J.V.A., *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1987), p. 367.

scepticism.<sup>99</sup> Despite the strong language used at times in the *Pro subsidio*, neither group is regarded as beyond the pale. They are not unacceptable as are the Turks; but their identity as co-religionists by no means makes them automatically credible or trustworthy—a point emphasized also by Kantakuzenos in 1367.<sup>100</sup>

Demetrius' assessment of the Serbs and Bulgarians is thus largely negative, but at the same time his comments are largely political, and he *does* acknowledge a shared cultural and religious background, even if he does not think it makes a practical difference. There are hints, however, of another side to his treatment of them in his writings. In the *Apologia IV*, in speaking of Prochoros' opposition to Palamite doctrine, he refers to someone who is 'the slave of the Lady of Serbia'.<sup>101</sup> Mercati identifies this with Trikanas, hegoumenos of the Lavra after Philotheos Kokkinos, and involved in the proceedings against Prochoros. In another passage in the *Apologia IV*, Demetrius seeks to undermine one of Prochoros' accusers by questioning whether he even lived on Athos, adding that the individual was a Bulgarian or Skyth and an interpreter was needed in order to understand him.<sup>102</sup> It is difficult to know quite what to make of this, but it does at least serve to emphasise the complexity of the Orthodox world itself. Far from the Greeks being in control of a pan-Orthodox movement, Athos itself was under Serbian control for much of the fourteenth century, its political allegiances and dependencies complex and ambiguous. Demetrius' comments seem to indicate distrust or disdain for Slavic religious influences.

### 2.2.3. Hungarians and Mongols<sup>103</sup>

Two further groups, other than Latins, appear in Demetrius' writings. Unfortunately, Demetrius' treatment of them scarcely does justice to their importance in real terms. However, a few observations are possible.

Hungary, the major Catholic power in central Europe, was one of the most important factors in any consideration of crusading ventures in the fourteenth century. Papal policy involved extensive negotiations with the

<sup>99</sup> PG 154, 1033A–B.

<sup>100</sup> Meyendorff, J., 'Projets de concile oecuménique en 1367: un dialogue inédit entre Jean Cantacuzène et le légat Paul', *DOP* 14 (1960), pp. 170 f., 45–50.

<sup>101</sup> τὸ τῆς δεσποίνης τῆς Σεργίας ἀνδράποδον. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 320, 45.

<sup>102</sup> εἰ δὲ τις τῶν συναγωνιζομένων τῶ δράματι καὶ ἀληθῶς ᾔκει τὸν Ἄθω, βούλγαρός τις ἦν οὔτος ἢ Σκύθης καὶ πρὸς ὃν ἐρμηνέως ἔδει τοῖς ὄπωσσοῦν διαλεξομένοις. Ibid., p. 322, 94 ff.

<sup>103</sup> As has already been mentioned (above, p. 57), Demetrius generally refers to the former as 'Illyrians and Paionians', the latter as 'Skyths'.

Hungarian court. As such, Hungary was of interest to the Byzantines long before the crusade of Nicopolis in 1396.

Two main points can be made concerning Demetrius' treatment of the Hungarians. The first concerns the extent to which Byzantine policy took Hungary into account in the 1360s.<sup>104</sup> When the *Pro subsidio* was written, John V was absent on a mission to Hungary. Demetrius is clear enough about the purpose of John's trip: when describing Bulgarian reaction to John V's plans,<sup>105</sup> Demetrius makes it clear that John wished to enlist substantial Hungarian military support; he describes the Bulgarians, feigning acquiescence, encouraging John to bring back as strong an army as possible.<sup>106</sup> Later in the speech, Demetrius is more specific: he describes John's journey, stressing the trouble John has gone to in order to persuade the Hungarians to take up arms on behalf of the Byzantines.<sup>107</sup> Moreover, trying to convince his audience to open the gates to Amadeo and his Latins, Demetrius draws a parallel with a potential arrival of John V with an army of Hungarians: to refuse to admit Amadeo, while welcoming John with his Hungarians, would be utterly disastrous.<sup>108</sup> Evidently, Demetrius hoped John would appear with an army of Hungarians.

This passage at the end of the *Pro subsidio*, however, also brings in another theme regarding the Hungarians. In describing John's journey, Demetrius stresses how John was prepared, for the sake of his people, to go as far as petitioning these 'barbarians'—a hard thing indeed for a man who should naturally command such people.<sup>109</sup> Later, Demetrius takes the image of Hungarian barbarism further, in the passage which parallels Amadeo's force with potential Hungarian allies. The assumption is that the Byzantines would welcome the allies brought by John V. To shrink from the 'Romans' but be unsuspecting of the 'Paionians' is illogical—the 'Paionians' are motivated by pillage and plunder, the 'Romans' by glory, making the latter more trustworthy.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>104</sup> On Hungary's importance, see below, esp. pp. 183 f.

<sup>105</sup> See above, p. 66.

<sup>106</sup> ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθον, ἐνδόντες, καὶ καλῶς ἔχειν εἰπόντες τὰ βεβουλευμένα, τὴν ταχίστην ἀναστρέφειν παρήνουν, ὅσιν ἂν δύνηται δύναμιν ἐπαγόμενον. PG 154, 976C.

<sup>107</sup> καὶ πείσων ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀρπάσαι τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλοτρίους ὄντας, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμῶν ἐλευθερίας. Ibid., 1000D.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 1001A–B.

<sup>109</sup> ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δεῖσθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους οὐκ ὄκνει τούτου γὰρ, τούτου μόνον οὐδ' ἂν ἔτερον ἐπαχθέστερον πάθοι ἀνὴρ τοσοῦτοις εἰωθῶς ἐπιπάττειν. Ibid., 1001A.

<sup>110</sup> Οὐ γὰρ δήπου τὴν μὲν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡμερότητα φυλάττεσθαι δεῖ, τὴν δὲ Παιόνων ὀμότητα μηδὲ ὑποπτεύειν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὑπὲρ δόξης προϊεμένους ἐπιθυμῆσαι τῶν ἡμετέρων, τοὺς δ' ἔξ ὧν ληστεύουσι καὶ κλέπτουσι ἀπὸ τούτων διάγοντας, τούτους ἐξαίφνης ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς τέχνης. Ibid., 1004A.

So Demetrius is quite happy to term the Hungarians 'barbarians', suggesting an underlying negative attitude towards them. It should, however, be borne in mind that this may have as much to do with Demetrius' rhetorical use of the Hungarians as anything else: his purposes require the Hungarians to be painted in negative colours, in order to contrast them with the virtuous Latins. Demetrius' expressions should not be taken unconditionally at face value.

The Mongols also only appear briefly in Demetrius' writings. Like the Hungarians, the Mongols were, of course, a major force in shaping the region, and their importance can scarcely be over-emphasised. It is to be expected that Demetrius would give thought to their impact on the region. His father, moreover, had, shortly before his death in 1341, been involved with a mission to the Mongols of the Golden Horde. Demetrius describes the mission in his *First Oration to John Kantakuzenos*.<sup>111</sup> One might expect this to have influenced Demetrius' understanding of the Mongols; and indeed, Demetrius describes them vividly in the *First Oration* as living according to the law of the sword, as rapacious, as a huge, all-powerful military force. In this passage, the rhetorical point is that, despite all this, and the fact that they had a just cause against the Byzantines, Demetrius' father succeeded in winning them over.

When considering potential allies at the beginning of the *Pro subsidio*, Demetrius mentions the Skyths again. Here, he approaches them in a slightly different way; his point, this time, is to demonstrate how they are inappropriate as allies. Even if they were able to help, they would demand impossibly extortionate payment.<sup>112</sup> It was they who previously ravaged Byzantine territory, facilitating the Turkish advance.<sup>113</sup> In any case, there is little potential for negotiating with them: their own internal disputes would first have to be resolved.<sup>114</sup> Further, any potential aid would be at least a year in materializing, and therefore come too late.<sup>115</sup> And Demetrius does

<sup>111</sup> Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondence, I*, p. 9, 12–23. French translation: Loenertz, R.-J. 'Notes d'histoire et de chronologie Byzantines', *REB* 17 (1955), pp. 164 f.

<sup>112</sup> τῆς βοηθείας μίσθον, οὐδ' ἂν τοὺς παρῆμῖν λίθους ἐξαργυρισθέντας ἀρκέσαι νομίζω. PG 154, 972A.

<sup>113</sup> ὑπὸ τούτων πρῶτον ἀκούω τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἀνάστατον γεγενησθαι. Αἱ γὰρ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς μυριάρχων καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἐμβολαί...παρέσχοντο τοῖς Τούρκοις ἄδειαν τοῖς ἐκείνων λειψάνοις ἐπεξελεθεῖν. Ibid., 972A–B.

<sup>114</sup> Ἄλλως τε τίς ὁ διαλλάξων αὐτούς, καὶ πείσων, ὧν ἀλλήλους κακίζουσι ἐπιλαθομένους, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν συνελθόντας βουλευέσθαι; Ibid., 972B. On the disruption in the Golden Horde in this period, see Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 181 f.

<sup>115</sup> PG 154, 972B–C.

not think they would in any case want to help: being infidels, they would be unlikely to fight for the faithful against other infidels.<sup>116</sup>

What is clear from this regrettably short discussion is that Demetrius at least did not entertain hopes of stirring up the Mongols to act together with Christendom to destroy Islam, as did some.<sup>117</sup> Moreover, he appreciated the threat they posed, as well as having some idea of their internal instability.

### 2.3. FOREIGN POLICY: THE LATINIS

To speak in terms of the ‘Latin west’ would be a misleading representation of the situation of Byzantium in the fourteenth century. It implies geographical distance, suggesting that, unlike Bulgarians, Serbians and Turks, the ‘Latinis’ were somehow at a distance from the situation. In reality, Latin colonies and influence were geographically very close; Latin presence permeated both the region and Byzantine society itself. The most obvious examples of this are the Genoese colony of Galata, opposite Constantinople on the Golden Horn, and the Venetian colonies of the region; but in many areas of the Eastern Mediterranean (including Asia Minor) and the Black Sea regions, western influence was strong and well-established. ‘Western’ elements were an inescapable part of the balance of power in the region, as much part of the Byzantine world as Bulgarians, Serbs and Turks.

It is with regard to Byzantine relations with the Latinis that Demetrius expresses his most striking political and cultural views. He combines various ideas to give an account of Byzantium’s relationship to the Latinis. Although it includes secular historical elements, his approach is closely connected to his attitude to the Catholic church. Given this, it could be argued that it is a mistake to separate the theological from the more secular aspects of his approach. However, Demetrius’ writings are mostly extremely orderly, and divide subjects and ideas in such a way that it is possible, to some extent, to separate issues. In particular, his main ‘political’ speeches (the *Pro subsidio* and the *De non reddenda Callipoli*) largely emphasise the secular political relationship with the west, and it is this which will be examined here.

<sup>116</sup> *Καὶ παραλείπω τὸ μηδ’ ἂν ποτ’ ἐκείνους ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν προελέσθαι πολεμῆσαι τοῖς Τούρκοις· ἀνθρώπους ἀσεβεῖς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβῶν τοῖς τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτοῖς κεκοινωνηκόσι κακῶν.* Ibid., 972C.

<sup>117</sup> For example, earlier in the 14th century, Metochites apparently advised co-operation with the Mongols in preference to the Turks. Angelov, D.G., ‘Byzantine imperial panegyric as advice literature (1204–c. 1350)’, in E. Jeffreys (ed.), *Rhetoric in Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* (2001) (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2003), p. 66.

As has already been noted,<sup>118</sup> in the *Pro subsidio* Demetrius presents a list of criteria which potential allies must satisfy. The Serbs and Bulgarians both fail to meet the majority of the criteria. Amadeo VI’s expeditionary force, on the other hand, fulfils them. In demonstrating this, Demetrius gives a lengthy discussion of the western world and its relations with the eastern Mediterranean.

Demetrius’ account of the Latinis does not, at first glance, start with the first of his criteria (shared faith), but sidesteps it, seemingly moving directly on to ‘other similarities’. Since the question of faith is the first point raised in the case of the Bulgarians and Serbs, this raises questions—particularly if the audience is assumed likely to have little respect for the Latinis’ Christian credentials. Does Demetrius avoid the question simply to avoid provoking opposition? This is difficult to sustain. For one thing, it would require Demetrius’ wider opinions to be so little known that his audience would not think him likely to regard the Latinis as part of the Christian world; and this, as will be seen below, is highly unlikely.

But in any case, such suspicions are not supported by the text. Demetrius’ presentation of the Latin force of Amadeo of Savoy is direct and culturally loaded, in a way which makes specific comment on ‘faith’ at this early stage in the speech redundant. Amadeo’s men, he says, are ‘Romans’: surely the name itself is enough to recommend them!<sup>119</sup> Demetrius has deliberately chosen to begin his presentation with this.<sup>120</sup> What closer allies can there be for Romans than Romans themselves?<sup>121</sup> Demetrius evidently opens his account very deliberately in this way, for rhetorical impact. It is guaranteed to catch the attention of all those who consider themselves ‘Romans’. To have used the motif of *εὐσέβεια* as he did with the Serbs and Bulgarians would have been weaker: the motif of *πατρις* has a more inescapable force. It does not remove the idea of religious identity. Arguably it adds force to it: it is integral to a ‘Roman’ in the Byzantine empire to be Christian. Stressing the westerners’ shared ‘Roman’ credentials therefore also implies Christian credentials. Demetrius is declaring an identity between the two groups which is both fundamental and unique—an identity not shared by Serbs and Bulgarians.

<sup>118</sup> See above, p. 63.

<sup>119</sup> *Τοὺς νῦν ἤκοντας Ῥωμαίους φημι.... ὃ καὶ θανάξω εἰ καὶ τοῦνομα γοῦν οὐχ ἱκανὸν ὑμῖν διαλλάττει τοὺς ἄνδρας.* PG 154, 977C.

<sup>120</sup> *Οὐκοῦν ὄθεν ἠρξάμην, ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ δηλονότι προσρήματος ποιήσομαι τὴν ἀρχήν.* Ibid., 977D.

<sup>121</sup> *Τίνες Ῥωμαῖοις Ῥωμαίων οἰκειότεροι σύμμαχοι;* Ibid., 977D.

Demetrius expands on this by exploring the historical links between Constantinople and Rome. He emphasizes that Rome was the metropolis of Constantinople: Rome in the east, and Constantinople set up by Rome to rule in Asia, were as one people, metropolis and colony.<sup>122</sup> Constantine was himself Roman, and intended the city he founded to share in the honour of Rome, his *πατρίς*.<sup>123</sup> His wish was to 'mingle' the two cities: Constantinople received the name and honour of Rome, and the Senate was transferred there.<sup>124</sup> The Byzantines, rulers *and* ruled, are descended from Romans: they *are* Romans.<sup>125</sup> Demetrius also adds that in former days, there was no religious division.<sup>126</sup> The conclusion is clear: there is no group to which the Byzantines could more justly turn than to the westerners: to reject them would be like a child rejecting a mother, since a metropolis is naturally mother to its colony.<sup>127</sup>

This theory of the relationship between Byzantines and Romans is then followed by an account of how Latins have historically acted on behalf of their 'compatriots' in the east. Demetrius' take on this is striking. He speaks first of westerners who pursued the 'barbarians' as far as Syria and Palestine and left ten thousand dead by the Orontes, restoring to the Byzantines cities they had lost; the Byzantines profited from their efforts.<sup>128</sup> In this way, they restored freedom and faith to the Greeks of Asia, without expecting return.<sup>129</sup> Demetrius also refers to 800 men who fought alongside an emperor, dying for the freedom of the Byzantines: without their help, there would now be

<sup>122</sup> Ἡ γὰρ ἐκείνων πόλις τῆς ἡμετέρας μητροπόλις γέγονε· καὶ τοῖς ἀποίκιοις κοινωνή-  
σασα τῆς ἐπωνυμίας, ἐκείνη μὲν ὡσπερ τις πρόβολος ἔμεινε ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσπέρας· ἡμᾶς δὲ  
τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγησομένους ἐξέπεμψεν ὥσθ' ἕνα μὲν δῆμον ἡμᾶς τε κάκεινους δοκεῖν, μίαν  
δὲ πόλιν ἀμφοτέρως, ἐν ἀποίκιον καὶ μητροπόλειως σχήματι τεταγμένης. *Ibid.*, 977D.

<sup>123</sup> Ἀλλὰ μὴν αὐτόν τε Κωνσταντῖνον, οὗ πάντα τὰ ἡμέτερα ἤρτηται, Ῥωμαῖον ἴσαι  
πάντες, καὶ τῆ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπωνυμία ἦν ἀνίστη πόλιν τετμηκότα. *Ibid.*, 977D–980A.

<sup>124</sup> ἐβούλετο διὰ πάντων, οἷόν τ' εἶπειν, κερᾶσαι τὰς πόλεις...καὶ τῆ πόλει μετὰ τοῦ  
ὀνόματος συνεισῆει καὶ τὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀξίωμα· καὶ ἡ Ῥωμαίων γερούσια δεῦρο μετέβανε.  
*Ibid.*, 980A.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 980A–B.

<sup>126</sup> Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἑτέροις ἐχρώμεθα τότε τῶν θεῶν ἐξηγηταῖς· οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ τῆς τε πολιτείας  
καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἡμῖν ἦσαν προστάται. *Ibid.*, 980B.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 980B–C.

<sup>128</sup> οἱ μέχρι Συρίας καὶ Παλαιστίνης ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τοὺς βαρβάρους διώκοντες, καὶ δέκα μὲν  
μυριάσι νεκρῶν τὸ περὶ τὸν Ὀρόντην πεδῖον καλύψαντες, ἡμῖν δὲ προῖκ' ἀποδεδωκότες,  
ἅς ἀφηγήμεθα πόλεις· καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόνους αὐτῶν ποιησάμενοι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τοῖς ἡμετέροις  
δεδωκότες καρποῦσθαι. *Ibid.*, 980C–D.

<sup>129</sup> τὴν δὲ ἔλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν εὐσεβίαν, πᾶσι τοῖς τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦσιν Ἑλλησιν...κατά-  
γοντες...οὐδὲ χάριν αὐτοῖς τῆς εὐεργεσίας εἰδόντων. *Ibid.*, 980D.

nothing to debate.<sup>130</sup> Other references follow. Demetrius mentions the crusade of Smyrna,<sup>131</sup> emphasizing the advantages westerners thereby brought to the Byzantines.<sup>132</sup> He also mentions the naval engagement off Imbros of 1347.<sup>133</sup> He repeatedly insists that the westerners acted to benefit the Byzantines. Without mentioning specific details, he goes on to give the impression of western activity everywhere in the eastern Mediterranean, on behalf of the enslaved Byzantines: against pirate ships around the Peloponnese,<sup>134</sup> in Thessaly, around the Holy Mountain, in the Hellespont<sup>135</sup> and all the islands. In each case, the westerners are victorious.<sup>136</sup>

Demetrius' list of Latin campaigns against the 'barbarians' in the eastern Mediterranean demonstrates that they have experience of fighting these enemies, and thus fulfils Demetrius' stipulation that allies should have such experience. His next theme addresses whether they have another necessary qualification: steadfastness in their task. Demetrius is clear that they do. They have a long-standing, proven hatred for the barbarians; they do not make treaties with them; they consider that this enmity brings glory and promise of future good; it is part of their nature; and they hold the destruction of the barbarians a great gain.<sup>137</sup> Demetrius then follows this up by showing

<sup>130</sup> τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους ἐκείνους, οἱ βασιλεῖ τι τῶν ἡμετέρων προσθήμενοι...αὐτοὶ μὲν  
ἀπέθανον, ἀθάνατον ἐξ ὧν προείλοντο δόξαν κτησάμενοι· ἡμᾶς δὲ πρὸς τὸ μὴ δουλεύειν  
αἰσχυρῶς...ἀπῆλλαξαν...ὡς εἰ μὴ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τότε κείνοι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀντέστησαν, οὐδ'  
ἂν ἦν ὑπὲρ ὅτου νῦν ἔδει βουλευέσθαι. *Ibid.*, 980D–981A. This refers to the battle of Antioch  
on the Maeander in 1211. See Savvides, A.G.C., *Byzantium in the Near East: its relations with  
the Seljuk sultanate of Rum in Asia Minor, the Armenians of Cilicia and the Mongols, AD c.  
1192–1237* (Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν Ἑρευνῶν, Thessalonica, 1981), pp. 98 ff. I am grateful to  
Dr Teresa Shawcross for help in identifying this reference.

<sup>131</sup> PG 154, 981A–B. See below, 206. The initial assault on Smyrna was made in 1344.

<sup>132</sup> Κάκεινων μὲν οἱ κίνδυνοι καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα· ἡμῖν δὲ καθημένοις τὰ ἐντεῦθεν προσ-  
γίνεται κέρδη. *Ibid.*, 981B.

<sup>133</sup> Atiya, A.S., *The crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Methuen, London, 1938), p. 315. Over  
100 Turkish vessels were destroyed by a western force principally composed of Hospitallers.  
See also Topping, P., 'The Morea, 1311–1364', in Hazard, H.W. (ed.), *A History of the Crusades,  
Volume III: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison,  
1975), p. 133 and Luttrell, A., 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes, 1306–1421', in Hazard, *History of  
the Crusades, Volume III*, p. 295.

<sup>134</sup> This may refer to the victory over the Turks off Megara, ?1359–1364. The coalition against  
the Turks included Franks and Greeks of the Peloponnese, together with Hospitallers. See  
Topping, 'The Morea, 1311–1364', p. 135; Setton, K.M., 'The Catalans in Greece, 1311–1380',  
in Hazard, *History of the Crusades, Volume III*, p. 204; Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes,  
1306–1421', p. 297.

<sup>135</sup> Possibly a reference to the raid on Lampsakos? See below, p. 182.

<sup>136</sup> PG 154, 981C–984A.

<sup>137</sup> Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἄνωθεν τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους μίσους ἀρξάμενοι, δεῦρ' αἰεὶ διαγε-  
γόνασιν, οὐδέ ποτε μνησθέντες σπονδῶν· ὡς τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐνταῦθα μόνον εὐκλειαν

how the westerners fulfil yet more criteria. It is easy, he says, to prove that they have the necessary wealth: to equip one fighting ship requires as much money as to fortify a town, and yet the westerners send out fleets that make the fleet sent against Troy seem child's play.<sup>138</sup> They also have no lack of able bodies.<sup>139</sup>

By this stage, Demetrius has answered his key criteria. But he has more to say about the westerners. Just as he went further in dealing with the Serbs and Bulgarians, building up his negative picture, so he also goes further in discussing the westerners, building up a positive picture. He introduces this by turning to the question of the westerners' motivation, and what it might imply.<sup>140</sup> He considers different possibilities. If, for example, the westerners have been moved to action by Byzantine suffering, they are acting as would close family; if their motivation is honour and glory, this implies they would not desert allies for the sake of anything less, or fail to help those who would give them glory. But the idea that Demetrius particularly favours is that their motivation is primarily, seeing the faith attacked and the Byzantines suffering, the pious concern to wrest the holy faith from the infidel.

Demetrius then sets out to demonstrate that western activities are indeed to be seen in terms of the faith versus the infidel. It is the westerners alone who oppose those who blaspheme Christ, set themselves against his laws and persecute his people.<sup>141</sup> There is nowhere they have not demonstrated their zeal for the faith.<sup>142</sup> Demetrius lists a second set of feats, of a wider 'crusading' bent: his earlier list was apparently deliberately limited to events with direct consequences for the Byzantines themselves. He speaks of them holding back the 'barbarians' in Libya and Carthage, mentions the crusade of Alexandria of 1365,<sup>143</sup> expeditions in Asia which have forced the enemy to come to terms (*ἀγαπήν*), an atmosphere of fear created in the Helle-

οἷσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀγαθῶν μεγάλων ἔχον ἐπαγγελίαν....ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους (sc. βαρβάρους) μάχην μετὰ τῆς φύσεως δεξαμένους, οὕτω τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπώλειαν ἥδιστον νομίζειν κερδῶν. Ibid., 984A.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 984A–B.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 984B.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 984B–C.

<sup>141</sup> οἱ γε τοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν βλασφημοῦσι, καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου θείοις νόμοις τὴν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀντιτάττουσιν ἀνομίαν, καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλουμένοις τοσαύτας περιπεθεῖσιν ἀνάγκας...μόνοι πᾶσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἀντεξήγαγον. Ibid., 984C–D.

<sup>142</sup> Καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐ πόλις, οὐ νῆσος, οὐκ ἡπειρος, οὐ μὴ συνεχῶς οὗτοι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐπιδείκνυνται ζῆλον. Ibid., 984D.

<sup>143</sup> Αἰγυπτίους δὲ ἐπιστρατεύσαντες, τὴν ἐκείνων μητροπόλιν πυρὸς καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ρειπίων ἐμπλήσαντες. Ibid., 984D.

spont and the Propontis, and intervention beyond the Caucasus.<sup>144</sup> All this Demetrius cites as proof that God has imbued the westerners with overriding concern for the faith: they strike at the barbarian, but are gentle to those who live a pious life.<sup>145</sup>

This might appear either a naïve or deliberately deceptive account of western intervention in the eastern Mediterranean. Certainly it is propagandist. However, tendentious though the presentation is, the way the speech continues is not noticeably naïve. In what follows, Demetrius discusses various accusations and suspicions he knows are raised concerning the Latins. In doing so, he does not talk in general terms: he addresses the situation as a real one, requiring a practical response to a given set of circumstances. This is clear from the introduction to this section: Demetrius points out that, since there are no other potential allies, the Byzantines would in any case *have* to make advances to the westerners. Since the westerners have instead come willingly, not to accept them in the circumstances would be tantamount to questioning the necessity of freedom.<sup>146</sup> If the Byzantines *could* stand alone, the situation would be different: but they cannot. There is no sense in looking for alternative, unwilling allies (such as Serbs and Bulgarians), when there are willing ones at hand. Given this, if there is no reason to expect harm from the westerners, suspicions of them are ill-timed. But *if* there are reasons for suspicion, these reasons must be stated clearly.<sup>147</sup>

One of the 'suspicions' Demetrius addresses is based on the strength of the westerners. Some people argue against the westerners for this reason: strong allies are dangerous; they may well replace the existing enemies.<sup>148</sup> Demetrius is sarcastic: this implies that Byzantium should instead be liberated by the weak; in that case, why have they not raised a rabble army and thus defeated the enemy?<sup>149</sup> Quite clearly *weak* allies would be pointless.

Another suspicion is evidently that the westerners are acting in this way out of desire for profit. This, Demetrius says, does not accord with the facts. Had they been attracted into the alliance by promises of reward, *then* this

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 984D–985A.

<sup>145</sup> ἀμήχανόν τινα φροντίδα τὸ Θεῖον ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐνήκε ψυχαῖς...τοὺς βαρβάρους πλήξαντες, ἀθώους τῆς ἐκείνων ὕβρεως τοὺς μετ' εὐσεβείας ἠρημένους ζῆν ἀποδείξουσιν. Ibid., 985A.

<sup>146</sup> On the importance of freedom for Demetrius, see above, p. 59.

<sup>147</sup> PG 154, 985B–988A.

<sup>148</sup> ὃ τινος ἤκουσα λέγοντος, ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἰσχυροτέροις ἡμῶν χρῆσθαι συμμάχοις, εἰ μὴ μέλλομεν ἐχθροὺς ἐχθροῖς ἀλλάττεσθαι, τῶν ὄντων τοὺς ἐπίοντας. Ibid., 988A–B.

<sup>149</sup> τοῦ χάριν μὴ τοὺς ὀργυροτρόφους τούτους, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν βαλανεῶν καὶ τῶν κουρείων ἀθροίσαντες, στρατεύματα κατελέξατε, καὶ μετὰ τούτων τοῖς ἐρῶμενεστάτοις πολεμεῖν παρεσκεύασθε, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐλευθεροῦν ἐγνώκατε τὴν πατρίδα; Ibid., 988A.

might be a reasonable suggestion; and in that case, it would be reasonable to suggest that they might then decamp to a higher bidder.<sup>150</sup> But Demetrius argues that the Latins do not think to profit in this way: they have gone to such expense that they could not possibly recuperate the great investment they have made.<sup>151</sup> Indeed, if greed were their motive, they would be utterly mad to be doing what they are doing: they could profit far more from doing nothing.<sup>152</sup>

Demetrius gives more credence to a third suspicion, namely the question of sovereignty. He agrees that desire to rule is a stronger motivation than greed for profit; and the westerners do strive for distinction.<sup>153</sup> But Demetrius gives various reasons why it is unlikely that their ambitions are predatory in this way. They are not private citizens: they are men of substance, with homes they would be unlikely to relinquish.<sup>154</sup> Their command structure requires that all consent to the leadership of one; and that leader would be unlikely to be recognized if motivated by greed.<sup>155</sup> Finally, the ships provided for the expedition have been supplied by the cities from which merchants and colonists come to 'us'<sup>156</sup>—that is, by Genoa and Venice. They, Demetrius argues, would lose out, were the City to fall into other hands: the harbours would be closed to them, others would control the grain supply, and they would lose their tax exemptions.<sup>157</sup> Therefore if the motivation of the western force were suspect, they (the Genoese and Venetians) would fight them and advise the Byzantines to be on their guard; whereas in fact they are supporting them.<sup>158</sup> The support of Genoa and Venice for Amadeo therefore indicates that Amadeo's motives are genuine.

<sup>150</sup> *Εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρημάτων αὐτοῖς ὑποσχόμενοι, καὶ τῆ τοῦ κέρδους ἐπιθυμία τὰς γνώμας ἐπάραντες, ἐπὶ τὸ συμμαχεῖν ἐφειλόμεθα, ἢν ἂν λέγειν ὡς οὐ ἀρκεσθήσονται τοῖς ἐλάττωσιν, ἐξὸν πλείω κερδαίνειν.* Ibid., 988C.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 988C–D.

<sup>152</sup> *πῶς οὐκ ἀναίσθητον ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῶν ἐλαττόνων μετὰ τῶν κινδύνων τυχεῖν τὰ πλείω χωρὶς πραγμάτων προῖεσθαι;..... Οὐ τοίνυν νοῦν ἔχόντων....εἰ ἂν ἔδει σὺν πόνῳ κτήσασθαι, πλείω μεθ' ἡσυχίας ἔχοντες, εἴτα περιεργάσαντο.* Ibid., 988D.

<sup>153</sup> *Εἰ δὲ τις τὸ ἄρχεῖν τοῦ πλουτεῖν σεμνότερον οἶεται, καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς αἴτιον εἶναι λέγοι....νοῦν μὲν ἔχοντος ἀγὰρ φήσαμι' ἂν γὰρ τὸν λογισμὸν....Καὶ τούτοις ἂν τις φῆ φιλοτιμίας εἶναι πᾶσαν τὴν ἄσκησιν, οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶν διανοίας.* Ibid., 988D.

<sup>154</sup> *οὐδ' αὐτῶν οἱ πλείους εἰσὶν ἰδιῶται· ἀλλ' ἐκάστῳ καὶ οἰκία, καὶ πόλεις ἀρχομένηαι, καὶ βῆμα, καὶ πρόσδορον καὶ οὐκ ἂν τις ὀραδίως ἐκλίποι τὰ οἴκοι σεμνά.* Ibid., 988D–989A.

<sup>155</sup> *καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν βουληθεῖς, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπαινοῦντας τὴν γνώμην.* Ibid., 989A.

<sup>156</sup> *Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν τριήρων πληρώματα, αἷς πρὸς τὴν μετακομιδὴν χωρῶνται, ἐξ ἐκείνων εἰσὶ τῶν πόλεων, ἂν αἱ ἀποικία καὶ οἱ ἔμποροι ἡμῖν.* Ibid., 989B.

<sup>157</sup> *ἴσασιν, ὡς ἡμῶν κρατηθέντων, κελκείσονται μὲν αὐτοῖς οἱ λιμένες· τῆς δὲ σιτοπομπίας ἔτερος κύριος ἔσται καὶ τῆς ἀτελείας, ἧς αὐτοῖς μεταδεδώκαμεν, ἐκπεσοῦνται.* Ibid., 989B.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 989B–C.

Demetrius considers further whether the westerners' avowed intention is sincere, or whether their aims are in fact to conquer.<sup>159</sup> In answer, he describes the background to their arrival. Many embassies have been exchanged between them and the emperor, and an envoy was sent to announce the arrival of the force in advance, and arrange provisions—an envoy, moreover, who was a greatly trusted long-term associate of John V.<sup>160</sup> Were they plotting, it would have been foolish to announce their arrival like this.<sup>161</sup> And to the possible objection that forwarned, in the case of the Byzantines, could not be sufficiently forearmed; if this is that case, why would the westerners bother with deception?<sup>162</sup>

This leads Demetrius to discuss the character of the Romans. They have no record of deceit, he claims: their record is as liberators; they have never failed to live up to expectations.<sup>163</sup> The extent of their virtue Demetrius illustrates by telling a story about a man who showed excessive virtue and forbearance by bringing up the orphaned son of his enemy to take over his father's inheritance, even bearing patiently with the boy's rebellious behaviour.<sup>164</sup> The protagonist is then revealed as the Savoyard grandfather of Amadeo VI; that is, John V's grandfather.<sup>165</sup> Amadeo VI, Demetrius argues, could not risk falling short of this, so John can scarcely suspect his relative's motives.<sup>166</sup> Demetrius then gives a more general account of western virtues. They hold justice the principal virtue, he says, and faithlessness and financial deception as terrible crimes.<sup>167</sup> In warfare, they do not use even legitimate deception: they prefer to win fairly, to declare their intentions in advance.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>159</sup> *Ὡμως, εἴ τις αὐτοῖς πρόσχημα μὲν εἶναι τὴν βοήθειαν λέγοι, τὸ δ' ἀληθές, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμοῦντας καὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἔρχεσθαι....*Ibid., 989C.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 989D.

<sup>161</sup> *Εἰ τοίνυν μετ' ἀπάτης ἠβούλονθ' ἡμῖν ἐπιθέσθαι, τίς εἶχε λόγον αὐτοῖς προλέγειν τὴν ἔφοδον; Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸ γ' ἐκ προῤῥήσεως πολεμεῖν ἀσφαλέστερον.* Ibid., 989D–992A.

<sup>162</sup> *Εἰ δὲ καὶ προαισθημένοις, οὐδὲν ἔσται πλέον ἡμῖν, φήσει τις, τίνας λοιπὸν αὐτοῦς ἐροῦμεν ἀπατῶντας στοχάζεσθαι;* Ibid., 992A.

<sup>163</sup> *Τίνας γὰρ ἄλλους πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀπατήσαντες, ταῦτα παρέσχον ἡμῖν περὶ αὐτῶν ὑποπεύειν; Ἀλλὰ μὴν πολλοῖς μὲν ἔσωσαν δεηθεῖσι τὰς πατριδας καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν· ὅστις δὲ δι' αὐτοῦς χεῖρον τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀπήλλαξεν, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι τις μέγχι δεῦρο δεικνύναι.* Ibid., 992A–B.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 992B–993A.

<sup>165</sup> *Ὁ τε τῆς στρατείας ἐκείνης ἡγούμενος ἀνεψιός ἐστι τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῖν βασιλεῖ, καὶ πάππος ἀμφοῖν ἢν ὁ τῷ βίῳ δοὺς τὸ θανμαστὸν ἐκεῖνο δῆγμα.* Ibid., 993A.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 993B.

<sup>167</sup> *Ὅπως δὲ Ῥωμαίοις πρὸ πάσης ἄλλης ἀρέτης ἡ δικαιοσύνη... Τὸ δ' ἄπιστον εἶναι παρὰ αὐτοῖς, καὶ μετ' ἀπάτης χρῆσθαι τοῖς χρήμασι, τίνας οὐκ αἰσχροτέρον βροχίου;* Ibid., 993B.

<sup>168</sup> *οἷ γε μηδ' ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄλων πολέμοις, καὶ οὐ νόμιμον ἀπάταις χρῆσθαι τοῦς στρατηγούς καὶ σοφίσματα, οὐδ' ἐκεῖ βούλονται μετὰ τοῦ ψεύδους νικᾶν· ἀλλὰ προειπόντες ὡς*

If they are like this with enemies, they are unlikely to treat allies worse. By contrast, for the Byzantines to refuse to welcome Amadeo would be to practice deception.<sup>169</sup>

But despite this fulsome praise of the ‘Romans’, Demetrius also refers to what one might call the ‘bottom line’ argument: the limited options open to the Byzantines in the circumstances. Amadeo’s force is currently at loose in the eastern Mediterranean. What would happen if the Byzantines refused to accept them, without good reason? The westerners would justifiably feel outraged at their treatment; and the result would be war.<sup>170</sup> Even if victorious, the Byzantines would lose: they would ever after be accused of having lured men to their destruction.<sup>171</sup> But Byzantine weakness, in any case, means that there could only be one outcome: recent experience has shown that the Byzantines cannot stand against such enemies<sup>172</sup>—and this, Demetrius says, is common knowledge: he is only repeating what he hears from everyone.<sup>173</sup> If the westerners were plotting deception, there would be no means of opposing them.<sup>174</sup> Demetrius therefore advises that friendship be proffered instead, as the best means of placating them. This, he insists, is not servitude: he would never set anything above freedom.<sup>175</sup> If misplaced fear leads to rejection of the westerners, the future is bleak: even if they were to survive, the Byzantines would be trapped within their city, cut off both by land and by sea.<sup>176</sup> The absolute ‘bottom line’ for Demetrius, moreover, is that if servitude is inevitable, better to serve the Latins than the Turks.<sup>177</sup>

ἤξουσι, καὶ τοὺς τόπους καὶ τοὺς χρόνους κηρύξαντες ἀντικρως, οὕτως εἰς τὴν μάχην καθίστανται τὴν μετ’ ἀρετῆς ἦσαν τοῦ νικᾶν ἀγεννῶς ἀνδράσι μᾶλλον προοήκει νομίζοντες. Ibid., 993B–C.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 993C–D.

<sup>170</sup> Εἰ δ’ ἐλέγχων χωρὶς ἀποπέμψασθε, δέδοικα μὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀφέντες, ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἀφῶσι τὴν κατ’ ἐκείνων ὀργήν. Ὑβρίζεσθαι γὰρ ἀντικρως δόξουσι....Λοιπὸν τοίνυν εἰς μάχην καθίστασθαι. Ibid., 996B–C.

<sup>171</sup> ὁπότερον ἂν τύχη συμβᾶν, ἄφυκτον ἡμῖν τὴν κατηγορίαν παρὰ πάντων γενέσθαι. Περιγενόμενοι γὰρ...δόξομεν τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐπὶ τῷ διεφθαρμένῳ καλέσαι. Ibid., 996C.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 996D–997A.

<sup>173</sup> Λέγω γὰρ οὐδ’ ἂν κοινῇ παρὰ πάντων ἀκούω. Ibid., 997A.

<sup>174</sup> Εἰ τοίνυν ἀληθὲς ὡς ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν οὗτοι,.....καλύειν δὲ τούτους ἀμήχανον. Ibid., 997A.

<sup>175</sup> Καὶ οὐδὲ ἐνεγκεῖν ἂν ἡμᾶς τὴν δουλείαν φημί. Μήποθ’ οὕτως ἔρημος γενοίμην φρενῶν, ὥστ’ ἄλλο τι προτιμᾶν τῆς ἐλευθερίας. Ibid., 997B.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., 997B–C.

<sup>177</sup> Εἰ τοίνυν δεήσει τούτοις (sc. the Turks) δουλεύειν, διὰ τί μὴ πρὸ τούτων ἐκείνοις (sc. the Latins); εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔνι δῆπουθεν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι, τό γε τοῖς βελτίοισιν ὑποκεισθαι κουφοτέρων ἀποφαίνει τὴν συμφορὰν. Ibid., 997D.

As a final shot, Demetrius invokes the absent emperor. This is where the comments regarding the Hungarians fit in, as described above.<sup>178</sup> If John V were to appear with an army of Hungarians, it would be both shameful and dangerous to shut them out while welcoming John himself. The assumption in the speech is that this would not even be contemplated: John V’s sanction would carry the day. Demetrius’ reference to John in the crucial final stages of the speech is suggestive of the kind of authority Demetrius is claiming throughout.

Demetrius’ discussion of the westerners in the *Pro subsidio* has been given in detail above, at times with extensive paraphrases. This may seem excessive. However, it has been considered necessary, partly due to the lack of any translation or modern edition to refer to, but mainly to make the context clear. Demetrius’ treatment of the question of a western alliance in the *Pro subsidio* is discursive, approaching the question on various levels, with considerable reference to opposing points of view. In order to give a fair impression of Demetrius’ approach, it is therefore necessary to go into some detail of the byways taken by the speech.

The second of Demetrius’ ‘political’ speeches, the *De non reddenda Gallipoli*, is predicated upon the deeds of Amadeo VI: without him, Gallipoli would have remained in Turkish hands all along. Gratitude to Amadeo is therefore part of the speech, giving Demetrius opportunity both to reiterate his earlier stance and add further elements.

In the *De non reddenda*, Demetrius uses a mini-speech in the first person plural to express the hypothetical reaction of the westerners, were Gallipoli to be surrendered to the Turks. In this ‘speech within a speech’, Demetrius uses the history of Amadeo’s campaign to rouse his audience’s sense of honour; in doing so, he uses some of the ideas of the *Pro subsidio*, but adds others. He emphasizes the gratuitous, spontaneous nature of the western aid; the sympathy felt by the westerners for the Byzantines as suffering fellow-Christians; the sacrifices made by the westerners; and the gallant capture of Gallipoli, whose return, fully fortified, to the Byzantines, gave them back control of the straits.<sup>179</sup>

All this, Demetrius insists, would give the westerners justifiable cause for complaint were Gallipoli to then be surrendered. They would ask: why do the Byzantines choose servitude over freedom—for this is what the surrender of

<sup>178</sup> pp. 68f.

<sup>179</sup> PG 154, 1016D–1017A.



Gallipoli would mean?<sup>180</sup> And to this there could *be* no answer: the Byzantines' shame would be evident to all Christians in Europe, because the events would be known everywhere.<sup>181</sup> The reactions would vary from sympathy to anger.<sup>182</sup> Above all, Demetrius emphasizes the reaction of the church. What curses would the church not bring upon them, seeing them betraying not just themselves, but also bringing evil upon other Christians?<sup>183</sup> The church could not then be expected to pray for the Byzantines, and make sacrifices for them: such things are only offered for those who wish their own good, not for those who will their own destruction.<sup>184</sup> If the Byzantines hand over Gallipoli, the church is unlikely to encourage anyone to help them in the future; no-one could be expected to help, if this is the result of such aid.<sup>185</sup> And if the Byzantines, too weak to defend themselves, repel allies by their actions, the only alternative will be enslavement to the Turks: the decision to be made regarding Gallipoli is effectively the choice between slavery and freedom.<sup>186</sup>

The *De non reddenda Callipoli*, then, shares some themes with the *Pro subsidio*, but brings in others, notably an argument based on the Byzantines' responsibilities to the rest of Christendom. There are also occasional passages in other writings which echo elements of the *Pro subsidio*. For example, in the *Apologia I*, Demetrius uses the theme of metropolis and colony when responding to opponents who he says vaunt the physical superiority of New Rome as a sign of its precedence. Constantinople received imperium from Rome;<sup>187</sup> she should honour Rome, from whom she received imperium, and should obey Rome as a colony should obey its metropolis.<sup>188</sup>

<sup>180</sup> «Τί δήποτ', ὦ χρηστοί, καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν τέλος ὀρῶντες ἐν οἷς πράττετε, ὧν πρὶν ἐπεθυμεῖτε τυγχόντες, πάλιν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐλευθερίας φθονεῖτε, καὶ δουλεύειν αἰρεῖσθε; Τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν βούλεται τὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις πάλιν ἐγγειρίζειν τὴν πόλιν.» Ibid., 1017A.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 1017B–C.

<sup>182</sup> Καὶ ταῦτα τῶν μὲν ἐγκλημάτων οὐδένα λόγον ἐνδεχομένων, ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις συναχθόμενων, τῶν δὲ ὀργιζομένων. Ibid., 1017C.

<sup>183</sup> Τίνας δ' ἡμῖν οἴεσθε καὶ παρὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀρὰς ἐπαχθήσεσθαι, ὀρώσης οὐκ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς μόνον δι' ὧν ποιῶμεν προδιόντας τοῖς ἀσέβεισιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι Χριστιανοῖς τοῦ κακοῦ τούτου γινομένουσιν αἰτίους. Ibid., 1017C.

<sup>184</sup> Τίνας δ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εὐχὰς ἢ καὶ θυσίας προσοίσει, ὀρῶσα πάντας ἐκόντας οὕτως τὰ χεῖριστά αἰρουμένους;... Ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῶν ἀγαθὰ σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βουλομένων, καὶ ὅπως τούτων τύχοιεν τοῦ Θεοῦ δεομένων, οὐ τῶν ἐξεπίτηδες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπολλύντων, καὶ θύειν καὶ εὐξασθαι καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν ἀξιοῦμεν. Ibid., 1017C–D.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 1017D–1020A.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., 1020A–B.

<sup>187</sup> τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ὕψος ἐκεῖθεν ἦγεν ἡμῖν. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 372, 80.

<sup>188</sup> παρ' ἧς (sc. Rome) καὶ βασιλείαν καὶ βουλὴν καὶ τὴν μεγάλην ἐπωνυμίαν ἐδέξατο, κακέινήη δικαίως ἂν ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι χρέος τὴν ὑπακοὴν ἀποτίνοι ὥσπερ αἱ ἀποικίαι ταῖς μητροπόλεσιν. Ibid., p. 372, 86 ff.

There is clearly much to ponder in Demetrius' secular, political approach to the west as presented above. However, this picture is incomplete without also considering Demetrius' presentation of the deeper ideological relationship between east and west. It complements his version of the secular historical relationship, and will be examined in the following chapter, within the context of an examination of his guiding theological principles, which to a large extent influence and guide his understanding of the west.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE RELIGIOUS SPHERE

Demetrius' basic stance on key issues of the fourteenth century is well known: he was avowedly both anti-Palamite and pro-Latin. However, the fourteenth-century debates were complex, and to do justice to Demetrius' position requires this basic description to be fleshed out. There are examples of prominent figures mixing-and-matching their options on these issues,<sup>1</sup> while there could also be numerous distinctions even within the main polarisations: there could be different approaches to the Latins, related to religious, political and cultural considerations, while attitudes to hesychasm/Palamism could vary even more subtly, in part because of the difficulty in determining what constituted 'hesychasm' in the first place.<sup>2</sup> Given this, it is important to go beyond the general position taken by an individual, and look at how it is expressed and developed.

This study cannot, unfortunately, attempt a full comparative study of Demetrius' theological stance, but instead will attempt to describe how Demetrius seems to have understood the relationship between key theological issues, as the underlay to his stance on specific issues. It is hoped that this will enable others who *are* concerned with comparative analysis to situate Demetrius more accurately within the fourteenth-century debates, particularly as more details of the period become accessible.<sup>3</sup>

#### 3.1. KEY PRINCIPLES AND IDEAS

It might be expected that discussion of Demetrius' understanding of the nature of authority should start with discussion of papal authority, given the importance of this question in relations between Constantinople and Rome.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Kantakuzenos, for example, was both pro-hesychast and pro-Latin; Philotheos largely anti-Latin and pro-hesychast; Gregoras anti-Latin and anti-hesychast.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 222 ff.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Kolbaba's edition of three of Barlaam's anti-Latin discourses (Kolbaba, T.M., 'Barlaam the Calabrian. Three Treatises on Papal Primacy, Introduction, Edition, and Translation', *REB* 53 (1995)), pp. 41-115 and Kislak's work on Nil Kabasilas (Kislak, *Nil Cabasilas: Sur le Saint-Esprit*).

<sup>4</sup> On the importance of this issue, see e.g. Kolbaba, 'Barlaam the Calabrian' part I, and

However, papal authority does not stand alone: it is necessarily associated with a wider understanding of how authority functions in the church, and cannot be understood in isolation. Indeed, it is perhaps best understood as a logical (in the eyes of its proponents) consequence of a range of other premises. In Demetrius' writings this is certainly the case: he associates the position of the papacy with other aspects of scriptural and patristic authority, as well the role of rational argumentation. Given this, it seems better to start by examining the broader structure of Demetrius' thought.

### 3.1.1. *Faith and Revelation*

Towards the end of the *Apologia I*, Demetrius gives an account of what he considers essential for a Christian.<sup>5</sup> Two things are necessary: accurate and firm faith in God, and a way of life in keeping with God's laws.<sup>6</sup> These must work in harmony; otherwise there is little use to be had from them.<sup>7</sup> But although both are necessary, faith ranks higher: it is the foundation of the house of works; works cannot lead to God without correct faith, while even a modicum of faith has value.<sup>8</sup> This is logical, for Demetrius: a virtuous way of life can emerge of itself, because of indwelling reason<sup>9</sup>—there have been many examples of this.<sup>10</sup> But native reason cannot reach the truth of faith: for that, divine teaching is necessary, and that requires revelation.<sup>11</sup> Therefore faith, being divine and above natural comprehension, has a certain superiority to works, which are part of the natural realm; although it is also true that faith without works is dead<sup>12</sup> and fails to achieve its ends.

Kolbaba, T.M., 'Byzantine Perceptions of Latin Religious "Errors": Themes and Changes from 850 to 1350', in Laiou, A.E. & Mottahedeh, R.P. (eds.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., 2001, pp. 117–143).

<sup>5</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 396 f., 70–(120)2.

<sup>6</sup> Ἐγὼ νομίζω χριστιανὸν ἄνδρα... ὄντι τούτοις ὥσπερ τισὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς χρῆσθαι δεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἄνω πορείαν, ἀκριβεῖ τε καὶ βεβαίᾳ πίστει πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ πολιτεία τοῖς ἐκείνου νόμοις ὀυθμιζομένη. *Ibid.*, 70 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 73 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 74–87.

<sup>9</sup> ἢ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἡθῶν ἀρετὴ προσγένουτ' ἂν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ οἴκοθεν οἷόν τι τῶν ἐπομένων τῇ φύσει, ἐγκάθηται γὰρ παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ὥσπερ τις διδάσκαλος, ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρθὴν πολιτείαν ἄγων ἡμᾶς. *Ibid.*, 88 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 92 ff.

<sup>11</sup> πρὸς δὲ τὴν πιστευομένην ἀλήθειαν ὁ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐγκείμενος λόγος ἀδυνατεῖ, μόνης δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο τῆς ἀνωθεν διδασκαλίας δεῖται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἣν οὐκ ἦν ἄλλως ἡμᾶς παραδέξασθαι μὴ τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτῆς ἑαυτὴν τῷ κόσμῳ φιλανθρώπως ἐκαλυψάσης. *Ibid.*, 94–97.

<sup>12</sup> James 2:26.

This account of faith and works establishes a constant theme for Demetrius: the importance of faith. Demetrius refers at crucial points to Hebrews 11:6: without faith, it is impossible to please God.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, in matters of faith, it is perilous to be in error, since what is at stake is all-important.<sup>14</sup> This motivates inquiry into matters of faith. However, a second vital principle is also established in this passage: the priority of revelation. Faith cannot be reached without divine input, which is on a wholly different level to human affairs.<sup>15</sup> Demetrius' insistence on the necessity of faith and the priority of divine revelation informs his entire approach to theological questions.

### 3.1.2. *The Sources of Revelation:*

#### *Interplay of Scripture, 'Fathers' and 'Councils'*<sup>16</sup>

Identifying faith and revelation as the two key themes immediately leads one to ask where the *content* of faith and revelation is to be found. For Demetrius, it is provided by authoritative texts and hierarchical structures, which are both source and guarantee of infallible doctrine. This is, of course, characteristic of mainstream Christianity, east and west. However, there are many ways of understanding this, particularly when it comes to the role of reason and method of interpreting authoritative sources. In Demetrius' writings, as will be seen, identification of authoritative sources is connected to an understanding of their fundamental nature, and a significant role given to the processes of human reason.

The *Apologia III* gives a useful outline of Demetrius' basic idea of the sources of Christian doctrine.<sup>17</sup> Demetrius starts by declaring his Christian identity and dedication to the church.<sup>18</sup> Then he describes how one can

<sup>13</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 418, 86; 427, 48 f.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 405, 68 ff.: καὶ ταῦτα περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς κοινῆς πίστεως ὄντος τοῦ λόγου, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ μικρὸν ὑφεῖναι τῆς ἀληθείας τοὺς μὴ πάνυ προσέχοντας εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους ἄθεῖ.

<sup>15</sup> For Aquinas' insistence on the importance of this distinction, see above, p. 31.

<sup>16</sup> Terminology relating to church councils and fathers presents difficulties. Traditionally, councils and fathers would be capitalised, and the term 'Ecumenical Council' would also be used; but this implies an established understanding of what these terms refer to, and that Demetrius' usage of them complies with this. Given that Demetrius is in a sense poised between Greek and Latin worlds, which have different accounts of how to understand fathers and councils, this is an unsafe assumption. Therefore this discussion attempts to use language as neutrally as possible, with the emphasis placed on describing the context of Demetrius' use of the terms. Consequently, the English rendition of Demetrius' words will be kept as close as possible to the Greek original, and when fathers or councils are more loosely referred to quotation marks will be used.

<sup>17</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 426, 27–49.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 27–36.

avoid error by adhering to three sets of material: by obeying what has been handed down in divine Scripture as oracles proceeding from God (revelation); by accepting the common<sup>19</sup> declarations of the holy fathers made in the common gatherings which the whole church calls catholic synods, and upholding these decisions as peculiarly in accord with what is contained in the sacred pronouncements (Scripture); and by holding in great respect any other pronouncements of the sacred fathers and common teachers concerning the common faith, whether expressed publicly in words or written down.<sup>20</sup>

Similar ideas, which vary in expression but not in core content, can be found elsewhere. For example, in the *Apologia I* Demetrius uses a metaphor of sailing in search of the truth, with the writings handed down to us (Scripture) as anchor, and our holy fathers and teachers in command; no specific mention is made of councils.<sup>21</sup> Elsewhere in the *Apologia I*, he places more emphasis on councils.<sup>22</sup> Demetrius acknowledges holy Scripture as it were the words of God, and has the same reverence for everything that necessarily follows from Scripture;<sup>23</sup> however, where there is a matter of faith causing dissension which cannot be dealt with in this way, but has been decided by the common decision of a common meeting (known as common synods) of holy fathers renowned for virtue and wisdom, Demetrius holds to their decisions as if they were Scripture.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The term *κοινός* and its cognates present difficulties in translation. Given the centrality of the concept, however (see below, p. 99.), it has been decided to translate it consistently as 'common', in order to highlight its importance and to make parallels clearer, even though at times this makes for clumsy English.

<sup>20</sup> οὕτω δὲ μόνως ἐπεπέισμην τῆς ἀληθείας ταύτης οὐχ ἀμαρτήσεσθαι, εἰ προηγουμένως μὲν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς θείας γραφῆς παραδεδομένοις ὡς θεόθεν ἤκουσι χρησιμοῖς βουλοίμην προσέχειν καὶ τούτων μηδὲν ἠγοίμην πιστότερον, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὰ τις λέγη τὰ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι γνωριμώτατα· μετ' ἐκείνα δὲ καὶ τοῖς κοινῇ παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἀποφανθεῖσιν ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς συνελεύσεσιν, αἷς δὴ καθολικὰς συνόδους τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καλεῖ, μηδένα τρόπον ἐναντιωθῆναι τολμήσαμι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖ ψηφισθεῖσιν ὡς σφόδρα τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν λογίων συμβαίνουσι καὶ αὐτὸς πείθεσθαι καὶ συμβαίνειν σπουδάξομι. τούτοις συνήπτον καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἱερῶν πατέρων καὶ κοινῶν διδασκάλων, ὅσα τε δημηγοροῦντες ἢ καὶ ἄλλως ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν συγγράφοντες περὶ τῆς κοινῆς πίστεως ἀπεφώνησαν. Ibid., 37–49.

<sup>21</sup> ὡσπερ δὲ εἰς τινα ναῦν ἀρραγῆ τε καὶ ὑγιῆ τὴν πίστιν ἐμβαίνοντας ἐπὶ ταῖς παραδεδομέναις ἡμῖν γραφαῖς ὡσπερ ἐφ' ἱερῶν ἀγκύρας ὄρμεῖν, ἀντὶ δὲ κελουστῶν ὑπακούειν τοῖς τὸ πέλαιος τοῦτο προδιαβάσιν ἁγίοις ἡμῶν πατράσι καὶ διδασκάλοις. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 384, 84–87.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 398, 29–44.

<sup>23</sup> τούτου δὲ τοῦ θησαυροῦ πλήρη τὴν ἱερὰν γραφὴν ἐπιστάμενος εἶναι, ἃ μὲν ἂν αὐτὴν λέγουσαν διαρρηθῆναι εὐρίσκω, τούτοις ὡς θεοῦ λόγοις πείθομαι....τὴν δὲ αὐτὴν εὐλάβειαν καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπομένους ἐκείνη φυλάττω. Ibid., 29–37.

<sup>24</sup> εἰ δὲ τι τῶν ἐν τῇ πίστει μήτε τοῖς ῥήμασι ἐγκείμενον τοῖς λογίοις εὐρίσκεται, μήτ' ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς εἰς ἐκείνα δυνάμενον ἀναφέρεσθαι προφάσεις τισὶν ἀντιλογίας παρέχει,

So Demetrius certainly adheres to the traditional idea of authority residing in 'Scripture', 'Councils' and 'Fathers'. At the same time, however, there is a flexibility of expression, rather than simply a use of glib formulae; Demetrius can select different elements at different times, and use phrases which designate the writings themselves, or the contents of the writings, or what can be derived from those writings, without embarrassment. This is not to say that Demetrius has a hazy idea of authority and doctrine. What it suggests is that the exact mode of expression, the exact identification of sources, is perhaps less important than the principles which underlie his idea of what can be held to be doctrinally authoritative.

Authentic doctrine must be a true account of faith. Given this, and Demetrius' emphasis that divine revelation is necessary for humans to have true knowledge of God, clearly doctrine must have a divine input: a divine guarantee of infallibility, so to speak. This guarantee of infallibility underlies Demetrius' approach. Scripture evidently possesses that guarantee, since it is the word of God: *θεόθεν χρησιμοῖ, λόγοι θεοῦ*. But other sources are linked with Scripture and the guarantee Scripture reveals. Councils are in agreement with what Scripture has to say (*σφόδρα τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν λογίων συμβαίνουσι*). Scripture itself provides a justification for regarding them as divinely inspired: Scripture promises that God will be present where two or three gather in God's name, so it follows that God could not possibly be absent from a gathering of so many holy men.<sup>25</sup> The common fathers must be right in matters of faith—i.e. in agreement with the word of God, with Scripture, therefore sharing the divine guarantee—because they are saints; if they were in error, by definition they would not be held as saints by the church.<sup>26</sup> Circular arguments are clearly involved here; but at heart this is not a matter of arguments proving authority, but of assertions that the whole complex is inextricably interconnected, and guaranteed by God. Scripture is the word of God—a guaranteed guide in matters of faith; Scripture declares that God will not allow his church to stray from true faith; what

εἰ μὲν κοινῇ συνελθόντων πατέρων ἁγίων ἐπ' ἀρετῇ καὶ σοφίᾳ βεβοημένων—τοῦθ' ὁ δὴ κοινοτάτας καλοῦμεν συνόδους—ἐξηνέχθη ψῆφος κοινῇ...τοῖς οὕτω ψηφισθεῖσιν ὡσπερ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς Γραφαῖς εἰρημένοις ἐμμένω. Ibid., 37–44.

<sup>25</sup> Reference to Matthew 18:20, used in Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 398, 47–51.

<sup>26</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 427, 46–54. This axiom was notably used at the Council of Florence. See Gill, J., 'Eleven Emperors of Byzantium seek Union with the Church of Rome', in idem, *Collected Studies: Church Union: Rome and Byzantium 1204–1453* (Variorum, London, 1979), p. 83.

the church holds in common therefore is guaranteed to be true; so, since the church considers the councils and fathers correct in matters of faith, they too share the same divine guarantee—they too represent the word of God.

On this understanding, it is clear that it is better to think of doctrinal authority as a body which functions as an organic whole, authoritative because of its divine origins and divine guarantee, rather than as a set of individual texts. Its sources certainly come in different shapes and forms, and it is important to understand the differences, but it is important also to understand that they are very much interconnected. Thinking of the different parts that make up the sources of doctrine in a compartmentalized manner creates artificial divisions, drawing attention away from this essential interconnection.

### 3.1.3. Methodology: Infallibility and Fallibility; Determining Authoritative Sources

That Demetrius regards the sources of doctrine in this way is clear in his discussion of the methodological approach to Scripture.<sup>27</sup> In the *Apologia I*, he insists that faith should not be referred to the processes of dialectic: pronouncements concerning faith come from above, not through human means and contrivances, and therefore proofs and witness to it should also come from above.<sup>28</sup> At first glance, one might think that this opposition of 'what comes from above' and human processes of dialectic should apply strictly only to Scripture itself, 'divine discourse' *par excellence*. Revelation is sometimes regarded in this light, as being essentially what is written in Scripture, with anything else of lesser importance. However, Demetrius does not mean this. He does not, in any case, wholly rule out the use of logical processes on a strictly human level: such arguments can legitimately be used to demonstrate the falsity of arguments attacking the faith.<sup>29</sup> But he also makes another

<sup>27</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 398, 19–37.

<sup>28</sup> λόγους μὲν καὶ ἀποδείξεις καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν διαλέξεων ἀνακύπτουσι οὐκ οἴομαι δεῖν αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέπειν, εἰδὼς «οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων» (Galatians 1:1) οὐδέ τις ἐπινοίας ἢ τέχνης, ἀνωθεν μόνον ἡμῖν ἤκοντας τοὺς περὶ ταύτης χρησμούς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεῖν ὁμογενεῖς καὶ ἀνωθεν εἶναι καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτῆς μαρτυρίας καὶ πίστεως. *Ibid.*, 19–23.

<sup>29</sup> πλὴν εἴ τινα ἀναιδῆ καὶ πανοῦργα σοφίσματα λυεῖν ἀνάγκη· τότε γὰρ οὐκ ἄχρηστον ἡγοῦμαι λόγοις ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς μετὰ λόγων ἐπιόντας τῇ πίστει, καὶ τοῦτοις αὐτοὺς ἀνατρέπειν οἷς θαρροῦντες ἐπιηδῶσι αὐτῇ, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀτοπίαν ὧν λέγουσι τοῖς ἀκολουθοῦσιν οἷς λέγουσιν ἀτόποις ἐλέγχειν. *Ibid.*, 23–27.

distinction, which makes it clearer how he regards the question. He accords the same status as Scripture itself also to the necessary consequences of what is contained in Scripture—just as in geometry there are consequences which necessarily derive from first principles.<sup>30</sup> Such 'processing' of Scripture is on a par with Scripture itself.

What Demetrius is doing is to make a distinction between logical deductions which are necessary, in a technical sense, and those which are not. The latter contain the possibility of fallibility; the former, like geometrical deductions, do not contain this possibility, if they are correctly formulated. Therefore if they are based on propositions which are themselves infallible (i.e. the word of God), they must share that infallibility. The opposition of divine and human elements in establishing true doctrine is based not on the content of written Scripture alone, but on this notion of fallibility and infallibility. What results from logical necessity based on infallible propositions falls on the side of infallibility.

This opposition of divine infallibility and human fallibility does not apply only to derivation of the logical necessities of Scripture, but applies also to other sources. This can be seen in the *Apologia III*, where Demetrius rejects 'syllogisms'—but in this case with respect to the 'Fathers'.<sup>31</sup> He insists that in his theological researches he renounced syllogisms and other human inventions.<sup>32</sup> Instead, he chose a surer course: he turned to the witness of the saints, because the question defeated human knowledge, but the saints were teachers, entrusted by God with the truth of divine matters, for the good of others.<sup>33</sup> The opposition is made here between human science and the witness of saints and teachers. The doctrinal deductions of these teachers are regarded as divinely inspired, and therefore understood to enjoy divine infallibility which places them above 'human discourse' and hence human fallibility.

In a sense, the opposition of divine infallibility and human fallibility as a basic methodological approach to doctrine can be seen as another expression

<sup>30</sup> τὴν δ' αὐτὴν εὐλάβειαν τοῖς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐπομένοις ἐκείνη φυλάττω ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς διαγράμμασι τοῖς ταῖς πρώταις ἀρχαῖς ἀναγκαίως ἀκολουθοῦσιν. *Ibid.*, 35 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 428, 93–102.

<sup>32</sup> συλλογισμῶν μὲν οὐκ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης περιεργίας καὶ δεινότητος πρὸς ταύτην τὴν σκέψιν ὠφελεῖν τι δοκούντων παντελῶς ἀποσχέσθαι διανοήθην. *Ibid.*, 93 ff.

<sup>33</sup> ...τῆς δὲ ἀσφαλεστέρας ὁδοῦ καὶ ἦν ἰὼν οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεσθαι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἐπεπίσμην εἰχόμεν· τοῦτο δὲ μοι προξενήσειν τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτυρίας ἐνόμιζον, ὡς ἂν τοῦ μὲν ζητήματος τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐπιστήμην νικῶντος, ἐκείνων δὲ διδασκάλων τε ὄντων καὶ παρὰ Θεοῦ διδάσκεσθαι πιστευομένων ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ὠφελείας τὴν ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀλήθειαν. *Ibid.*, 98–102.

of how Scripture, 'Councils' and 'Fathers' derive their authority. However, it also takes the matter one step further, by establishing an area in which reason applied to revelation can produce results which share in divine infallibility: namely, where what is deduced is a logically necessary consequence of the texts themselves. Its application once again underlines how mistaken it is to fix artificial boundaries between Scripture on the one hand and what might be seen as derivative—the 'Councils' and the 'Fathers'—on the other. They are different; but, looked at in this way, they are inextricably bound together by shared divine inspiration, and so it is impossible that they should contradict each other fundamentally.

#### 3.1.4. Methodology: Defending the Latins

There is, of course, another important factor in Demetrius' treatment of methodological principles. His concern with methodology does not belong in a vacuum, but in a heavily-charged atmosphere. Some form of methodological debate, in particular concerning the nature of human reason and perception—particularly the role of reason—is vital to all considered understanding of doctrine. In fourteenth-century Byzantium, the question of methodology played a major part in both the complex debates surrounding Palamas and hesychasm and in relations between east and west.<sup>34</sup> With regard to the latter, some eastern theologians reacted particularly negatively towards Latin scholastic methods.

The relevance of this to Demetrius' writings is quite clear. In the *Apologia I*, Demetrius describes reactions to his translation of Aquinas. Some responded positively to Latin methodology, he says, but others opposed it, regarding it as a Latin invention, disguising their opposition to it as devotion to Greek tradition.<sup>35</sup> Evidently Latin methodology was being attacked, and Demetrius for his connection with it; and Demetrius was concerned to defend both the methodology and himself. In this instance, he responds by pointing out the parallels between Latin and Greek methods: what his

<sup>34</sup> See, e.g. Kislas' discussion of the relationship between Nil Kabasilas, Palamas and Barlaam in Kislas, *Nil Cabasilas: Sur le Saint-Esprit*, pp. 127–141; Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz*, pp. 196–206; Beck, 'Der Kampf um den thomistischen Theologiebegriff', pp. 1–22.

<sup>35</sup> τότε δὲ τὰ βιβλία φανέντα τοὺς μὲν τι βουλομένους μανθάνειν καλὸν εἶλε καὶ κατεῖχε σὺν ἡδονῇ, ἢ γὰρ τῶν ἀποδείξεων ἀκρίβεια καὶ πικνότης τὰ τῶν Σειρήνων ἀτεχνῶς εἰς τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἔδρα· οἷς δ' ἀμαθία μετὰ φθόνου συνῴκει... ἀμελοῦντες γὰρ τῆς οἴκοι σοφίας εὐρήματα Λατίνων εἶναι τὴν ἰσχὺν τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων ἐνόμιζον, ὥστε τῷ δοκεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρῶων ζηλοῦν τὸν φθόνον συνέκρουον. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 366, 87–93.

ignorant opponents do not realize is that the Latins' methods derive from Greek learning, from study of Aristotle and Plato.<sup>36</sup>

There is a rather more detailed attack later in the *Apologia I*, when Demetrius discusses Greek theological treatments of the procession of the Spirit.<sup>37</sup> He is very negative about the writings representing the eastern position. He accuses them of being full of hatred, of avoiding of the truth, and—with some detailed explanation—of incompetence in logical argument, which makes them unable to either defend themselves or to effectively attack their opponents. This is why they resort to abuse. Their basic position with regard to the Latins, Demetrius says, is this: 'the Latins are sophists, and they attack us with sophisms. But if one were to strip them of sophisms, all that would remain would be blasphemy and ridicule. But we hold fast to the foolishness of the preached message (*μωρία τοῦ κηρύγματος*) and of the fishermen, neither receiving nor teaching divine matters according to worldly wisdom, so that we might not empty the cross of Christ.'<sup>38</sup> That is, Greek opponents say that the Latins are wrong precisely because their methodological approach relies on human wisdom rather than the revealed gospel message.

Unsurprisingly, Demetrius does not agree with this. He claims the opposite. The Latins have a high regard for the first fisherman (i.e. Peter), take every principle in their proofs from the witness of the fishermen, and, far from downgrading the gospel, force human wisdom into its service, thus exalting it.<sup>39</sup> However, his account of Latin methodology is not just reactive. A little further on he gives a positive assessment. The recent Latin writers, according to Demetrius, engage with their subject much more healthily and successfully than their eastern counterparts. Their methodology is faultless; their proofs are taken from Scripture, and anything used in addition

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 366, 93–99. As mentioned above (p. 31.), Demetrius' knowledge of western material would have made him very aware of this relationship.

<sup>37</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 387, 73–p. 389, 48.

<sup>38</sup> «σοφισταί τινες οἱ Λατίνοι, καὶ μετὰ σοφισμάτων ἡμῖν ἐπίασαν, κἄν τις αὐτοὺς τούτων γυμνώσῃ, τὸ λειπόμενον βλασφημία καὶ γέλωσ· ἡμεῖς δὲ τῆς μωρίας τοῦ κηρύγματος καὶ τῶν ἀλιέων ἐχόμεθα, οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγον τὰ θεῖα μῆτε παραλαβόντες μῆτε διδάσκοντες, ἵνα μὴ κενώσωμεν τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ». *Ibid.*, p. 388, 14–18; c.f. 1 Cor 1:21, 17.

<sup>39</sup> ὥσπερ Λατίνων ἢ τοὺς ἀλιέας παντελῶς ἀγνοούντων, οἱ γε πρὸς τὸν πρῶτον τῶν ἀλιέων τὰ ἑαυτῶν πάντα ἀνάγουσιν, ἢ μὴ τοῖς ἀλιέουσιν εἰς τὰς ἀποδείξεις χρωμένων, οἱ γε χωρὶς τῆς ἐκείθεν μαρτυρίας οὐδ' ἂν φθέγγαντο τὴν ἀρχήν, ἢ μὴ πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας τὴν μωρίαν τοῦ κηρύγματος προσιμώντων, ἢ κάκειν ὡς δεσποίνῃ θεράπαιναν δουλεύειν βιάζονται, οὕτω οὐ κενοῦν ἀλλ' ἀννηροῦν οἴομενοι τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Ibid.*, p. 388, 18–24. As pointed out above (p. 31, note 155), Demetrius would have been fully aware of the western theory subjecting other sciences to the service of theology.

for the sake of clarity derives from commonly agreed axioms<sup>40</sup>—that is, their additional material is also fundamentally acceptable.<sup>41</sup>

In this way, Demetrius presents Latin methodology as conforming to the principles already laid down. The Latin arguments are rooted in Scripture. They make acceptable use of logical reasoning: their proofs are incontrovertible, because the premises used are either Scriptural or self-evident. They do not use human wisdom inappropriately, but as the handmaid of the gospel. Clearly there is a slight development here of what has been said before, in that independent self-evident propositions are considered valid, as well as what derives necessarily from Scriptural propositions. However, this is a minor difference, if it is understood that Demetrius' fundamental distinction is between fallibility and infallibility, rather than between Scriptural and non-Scriptural: on this basis, *any* necessary/self-evident proposition, whether based on Scriptural propositions or propositions derived from elsewhere, can be valid for dealing with issues of doctrine.

### 3.1.5. Methodology: The Status of Human Reason

The scope Demetrius allows for human reasoning in understanding doctrine, together with Demetrius' education and literary interests, raises an important question: how he understands the status of human reason.

Demetrius clearly subscribes to the idea of the hierarchy of beings, in which humans are superior to animals not simply because they possess a soul (animals too have a soul) but because they possess a *rational* or *intellectual* soul, which gives them an affinity with both incorporeal beings (angels) and God, an affinity which animals cannot, by their nature, possess. In this scheme, rationality is an essential part of being human, and gives humans a dignity not shared by beings lower in the hierarchy. That Demetrius holds this is evident in his writings. However, an examination of how he uses the idea of the dignity of human reason as part of God's creation also shows how he connects the idea with his own methodological and intellectual preferences.

<sup>40</sup> ἐδόκουν μοι τοίνυν οἱ ἄνδρες τῶν πραγμάτων περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος ἐρρωμενέστερον ἄπτεσθαι καὶ μᾶλλον περαίνειν ὁ προύθεντο· αἱ τε γὰρ ἀποδείξεις αὐτοῖς ὡσπερ ἀφ' ἐστίας τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων ὠρμῶντο, καὶ εἴ τι τούτους πρὸς τὸ σαφέστερον ἄγοντες ἐκ τῶν ὄντων προσήπτον, τῶν σφόδρα δῆλον ἦν καὶ πάντας ἔχον τοὺς ἀκούοντας συγχωροῦντας. Ibid., p. 389, 56–60.

<sup>41</sup> As, for example, the axiom of the inerrancy of the saints was accepted by both sides at Florence. See above, p. 87, note 26.

In a passage in the *Apologia I*, Demetrius is clear that it is rationality which distinguishes humans from animals: other characteristics are shared with animals.<sup>42</sup> However, he does not use neutral terms, but technical vocabulary: specifically, it is the capacity to use demonstrations (*ἀποδεικνύναι*) and syllogisms (*συλλογίζεσθαι*) which sets humans apart. In the *Apologia I*, Demetrius does this for polemical reasons. There are those, he says, who deny the validity of proofs in divine matters, and who consider defeat in argument to be a proof of divine wisdom, since divine wisdom is irrevocably opposed to philosophy and reasoning.<sup>43</sup> By saying this, they effectively accuse God of having created a double, contradictory system of truth, forcing humans either to impotence or blasphemy—an untenable position.<sup>44</sup> Demetrius' defence of human rationality is an assertion that the processes of human logic are an essential part of human rationality, which is in turn an essential part of human nature as created by God to act in harmony with God's will.

That human reasoning is willed by God is brought out in another passage in the *Apologia I*, which also has a polemical context. Here, Demetrius is defending his interest in Latin theology. This interest arises, he says, from his desire for the truth, implanted in man by God, who forewilled that the human race should be endowed with reason (*λόγος*). Anyone who is not guided by truth and does not prefer it above all things does not deserve to be called human, but belongs with the beasts, living according to the flesh.<sup>45</sup> Although the opposition is explicitly between animal irrationality and guidance by the truth, a close relationship is implied between *λόγος* and truth by the comment that they have both similarly been bestowed upon humanity by God. Thus animal irrationality by implication is also opposed to *λόγος*. A little later, Demetrius states the importance

<sup>42</sup> τὸ γὰρ ἀποδεικνύναι καὶ συλλογίζεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἦν ἄρα τὸ τῶν ἀλόγων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους χωρίζον καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν ἡμῖν νέμον, ὡς τὰ γε ἄλλα ἡμῶν τὰ λοιπὰ ζῶα πλεονεκτεῖ. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 388, 28 ff.

<sup>43</sup> τὸ γὰρ ἐλεγχομένον ἀπειπεῖν, τοῦτ' εἶναι φασὶ τῆς θείας σοφίας τεκμήριον, ἣν φιλοσοφία καὶ λόγοις πολεμῖαν εἶναι φασιν, ὡς μήδέποτ' ἂν αὐτὰς ἀλλήλαις δυνηθῆναι συμβῆναι. Ibid., p. 388, 34 ff.

<sup>44</sup> ἄντικρυς τοῦ πολέμου τούτου τὸν Θεὸν αἰτιώμενοι διπλᾶς ἀληθείας ἢ καὶ σοφίας προθέντα καὶ διάλλῃλων μὲν αὐτὰς ἀνατρέποντα, τοὺς δ' ἀνθρώπους ἐπίτηδες εἰς ἀμηνανίαν ἢ καὶ βλασφημίαν ἐμβάλλοντα. Ibid., p. 388, 36–39.

<sup>45</sup> ἐγὼ δ' ἀληθείας ἐπιθυμίαν εἶναι τοῦτό φημι, ἣν ἡμῖν ἐνεφύτευσεν ὁ καὶ λόγῳ βουληθεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τιμῆσαι τὸ γένος ἡμῶν. ὑφ' ἧς ὅστις οὐκ ἄγεται οὐδὲ πάντων αὐτὴν προτιμᾷ, μηδὲ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων λοιπῶν ἐπωνυμίας ἀντιποιεῖσθω, ἀγέλην δέ τινα ζῶων ἄλλων ζητεῖτω, ἐν ἧ βιώσεται μόναις δουλεύων ταῖς ἡδοναῖς. Ibid., p. 366, 13–17.

of the intellect more succinctly: a (true) human is one who holds intellect (*νοῦς*) to be his most noble attribute.<sup>46</sup>

Although the words used here (*λόγος*, *νοῦς*) are not as explicitly connected with terminology as *ἀποδεικνύναι* and *συλλογίζεσθαι*, there is clearly a connection between them. What distinguishes humans from animals is rationality or intellect. *Λόγος*, *ἀποδεικνύναι* and *συλλογίζεσθαι* are all used by Demetrius to indicate the distinction between humans and animals: they are therefore connected. Although *νοῦς* is a term not without difficulties, it has similar implications in this context to *λόγος*, and in the passage referred to is clearly also being used to defend the status of reason in humans.

It is possible to make a direct connection between Demetrius' understanding of the status of human intellect and his defence of his intellectual position. Rationality/the intellect are God-given, and the noblest part of human nature. By the implicit identification of *λόγος* with the technical processes of thought—*ἀποδεικνύναι* and *συλλογίζεσθαι*—for which Latins (and Greek intellectuals) are criticized, Demetrius is claiming the moral high ground. Effectively, he is presenting these methods as a moral obligation for everyone intent on being fully human in accordance with God's will. Human rationality, God-given and without which we are not human, is expressed in terms of logical processes. Demetrius and the Latins he admires use these processes, and thus fulfil their moral obligation, making appropriate use of God-given faculties. By contrast, their opponents reject God-given human rationality, the most noble aspect of human nature—and by doing so accuse God. Thus in defending human rationality, Demetrius demonstrates both how he regards its status in the divine plan and that he considers his methodology fully legitimate and opposition to it morally questionable.<sup>47</sup>

Another feature of Demetrius' approach to the role of reason is found in the *Apologia II*, in a passage dealing with truth and reason.<sup>48</sup> Nothing is more desirable, pleasant or profitable to humans than truth, he says, precisely because truth belongs to the best part of human nature, the intellectual nature.<sup>49</sup> The intellectual nature enables people to see and understand themselves, to act in a considered and controlled manner beneficial to both them-

<sup>46</sup> τοῦτο γὰρ ἀνθρώπος, ὃ τὸ νοῦν ἔχειν ὧν ἔχει τὸ ἄριστον. Ibid., p. 367, 21.

<sup>47</sup> This idea is also found in Demetrius' *Defence of Saint Thomas* (see above, pp. 47f); see Beck, 'Der Kampf um den thomistischen Theologiebegriff', p. 14.

<sup>48</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 417 f., 58–74.

<sup>49</sup> ἐγὼ νομίζω κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀληθείας ἐρασιμώτερον ἢ ἥδιον ἢ ὠφελιμώτερον εἶναι μηδὲν· ἔστι γὰρ τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν ἀρίστου, λέγω τῆς νοεραῆς φύσεως. Ibid., 58 f.

selves and others.<sup>50</sup> Such knowledge (*ἐπιστήμη*) enables civilized life—cities, laws, communal life—as opposed to that of wild beasts.<sup>51</sup> By investigating the causes of things, moreover, humans come to knowledge of causes; and through these causes, if guided by truth, to the cause of all things.<sup>52</sup> Truth is like a path leading men to God—that is, to Truth itself, which is God.<sup>53</sup> God, Demetrius thinks, willed this, implanting truth in human nature, so that humans might be happy and blessed in the search for truth.<sup>54</sup> He alludes to the opening line of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*: the desire for knowledge is in the nature of all men.<sup>55</sup>

What is interesting is how the passage hints at, and regulates, a concept of natural theology. There is little that is controversial in asserting the value of human intellect in human social arrangements, nor in asserting that the human intellect can investigate causation. However, Demetrius is also saying that there is scope for approaching the cause of all things—God—through investigation of causes. He qualifies this: he insists that this is not possible without truth, the presence of which in the human mind is directly related to God. What the passage suggests is that use of rationality is an essential ingredient of human society; that human rationality is legitimately employed in investigating causation; and that human rationality has a role in understanding divine matters, providing it is combined with an ordering of thought to divine truth, provided by God. A notably, though far from exclusively, Thomist approach.

This does not contradict what Demetrius says elsewhere, particularly not what he says about divine prerogative in matters of faith, predicated on divine infallibility. Indeed, he demonstrates this just a little further on in the *Apologia II*, where he expresses himself rather differently.<sup>56</sup> When it comes to

<sup>50</sup> ...οἷόν τις κόσμος καὶ φῶς, ὃ περιλαμπόμενος ἀνθρώπος ὄρα μὲν ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἃ μέλλει πράττειν, ὄρα δὲ καὶ τί μὲν διώκειν τί δὲ φυλάττεσθαι δεῖ, οἶδε δὲ καὶ ὅπως χρηστέον τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ ἑαυτῷ πρὸς τε ἐκείνους καὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν συμπίπτοντα. Ibid., 60–63.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 63 ff.

<sup>52</sup> καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰς τῶν ὄντων οὐσίας ἐξετάζων εὕρισκει μὲν αὐτάς, δι' αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν πάντων αἰτίαν ἀποδημεῖ, ἧς παρὰ τῆς ἀληθείας λαβόμενος ἴσταται μὲν πλάνης, λήγει δὲ ἐπιθυμίας ἔχων τὸ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἔφεσιν ἐμπιπλάναι δυνάμενον. Ibid., 65–68.

<sup>53</sup> καὶ ἔστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια ἀνθρώποις οἷόν τις ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν, μᾶλλον δὲ δι' ἑαυτῆς ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀνάγουσα, εἶπερ τὴν ταύτης ἀκρότητα ἑαυτὸν ἀντικρως εἶναι αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἀπεφήνατο. Ibid., 68 ff.

<sup>54</sup> ὁ καὶ βουλούμενον οἶμα τὸν Θεόν, ταύτην τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγκατοικῆσαι, ἵνα ταύτην περὶ πάντα ζητοῦντες καὶ εὕρισκοντες εὐδαίμονες καὶ ἀληθῶς μακάριοι γίνουτο. Ibid., 70–73.

<sup>55</sup> ἔστι δὲ καὶ σοφοῦ τινος ψῆφος μάλα κομφῶς καὶ ἀληθῶς εἰρημένη, πάντας ἀνθρώπων ἀποφαινομένη φύσει ὀρέγεσθαι τοῦ εἶδεναι. Ibid., 73 f.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., pp. 419 f., 23–31.



weighty, soul-imperilling doctrinal questions, Demetrius considered it too dangerous to rely on human reasoning and proofs, since mortal understanding is wretched and mortal purposes precarious (Wisdom 9:14).<sup>57</sup> Instead, he turned to the authority of the teachers common to both sides, who were given to both peoples by God, and honoured equally by both God and the church;<sup>58</sup> and at the same time asked God himself for enlightenment.<sup>59</sup>

It is clear, then, that while Demetrius emphasises the importance of human rationality, its scope, and its applicability under certain conditions in theology, he never loses sight of the distinction between human and divine, between mortal weakness and divine strength, between mortal fallibility and divine infallibility. Human reason can only be used in theology if guided by God and based in the truth which is found in the sources established by divine guarantee—and this is his position even when he gives human rationality a role in reaching the first cause through investigation of other causes.

### 3.1.6. 'Fathers' and 'Councils': Practical Issues

Although the emphasis so far has been placed more on concepts than their direct, practical applications, it is not the case that Demetrius fails to address practical issues; far from it. The writings used in this study are not abstract theological treatises: they deal directly with contemporary issues. As will be seen, Demetrius has much to say, directly, about the papacy and the *filioque*. In addition, although he has an integrated understanding of the abstract relationship of the 'Fathers' and the 'Councils' to Scripture and divine inspiration, at times he also gives specific content to both.

In separate passages, Demetrius gives a list of names of patristic authorities. In the *Apologia I*, he refers to Athanasius, Basil, Gregory (presumably of Nazianzus), John (Chrysostom) and Cyril (of Alexandria), together with Hilary, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Leo and Gregory.<sup>60</sup> In the *Apologia III*,

<sup>57</sup> Ἀνθρώπινους μὲν οὖν λογισμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐκ τούτων ἀνάγκαις τὴν περὶ τῶν τηλικούτων ἐπιτρέψαντα κρείων ἰσχυροῦ τινος οἰηθῆναι λαβέσθαι ὑπερήφανόν μοι ἐδόκει καὶ ἱκανῶς κινδυνώδες, ἧδεν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς δειλοῦς ὄντας τοὺς τῶν θνητῶν λογισμοὺς καὶ ἐπισφαλεῖς τὰς ἐπινοίας αὐτῶν. *Ibid.*, 23–26.

<sup>58</sup> πρὸς τοὺς κοινούς ἡμῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων διδασκάλους ἀπειδὸν, εἰδῶς ἀμφοῖν τοῖς ἔθνεσι πολλοὺς τοιούτους... ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης παρὰ θεοῦ δεδομένους καὶ προσέτι τῶν ὁμοίων γερῶν καὶ ἐπαίνων παρὰ τε Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τυγχάνοντας. *Ibid.*, 28–31.

<sup>59</sup> οὐκ ὀκνῶν καὶ Θεοῦ δεῖσθαι φῶς ἀνάψαι μου τῆ ψυχῆ, ᾧ μόνῃ μάλιστα τὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας λύεται σκότος. *Ibid.*, 46 f.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 382, 35–40.

in a passage describing the authorities he consulted in his own investigations, he gives a very similar list, the only differences being slightly different phrasing and the addition of Gregory of Nyssa; he explains that he included Latin Fathers because they too have been handed down by the church ὡσπερ τινὰς κανόνας.<sup>61</sup>

This list of names raises questions. What weighting should be given to it? The reference to *κανόνας*, in connection with a set of named fathers, suggests the idea of a 'canon' of writers: a set list. But this is not, it seems, what is intended. In another passage, in the *Apologia I*, Demetrius uses 'canon' in a similar way, but evidently with a more extended sense: he complains about opponents of the Latins who, although knowing that the church celebrates and honours Latin authorities, nevertheless reject them, but at the same time call upon them as intercessors in the 'common assemblies' and regard them as 'canons' of truth.<sup>62</sup> The reference is clearly liturgical, and has a concept of a 'canon' of saints, but in this case evidently it can apply to far more saints than those given in Demetrius' lists of named authorities. Another passage also gives another usage of 'canon'. In the *Apologia II*, Demetrius describes testing recent theological treatments of the question of the Spirit, both Greek and Latin, against the ancient teachers, as against a canon.<sup>63</sup> 'Canon' is evidently used here in the sense of rule or criterion by which orthodoxy is measured. Thus Demetrius' use of 'canon' has senses other than that of a set of fathers corresponding to his lists of names.

It is probably better to say that Demetrius understands all authoritative material as a 'rule by which orthodoxy is measured'—as a 'canon'. The whole point of determining the sources of doctrinal authority is that they then can be used as a means of measuring other material. This is clear in the *Apologia I*, where Demetrius deals with processes for determining the truth of something not directly covered by recognized authoritative sources. If, he says, something is not found in divinely inspired writings, nor is easily derivable from them, nor demonstrated by a common synod of fathers, and, moreover, is a matter concerning which one must take sides, the correct course is to see how the new ideas measure up to the old.<sup>64</sup> Demetrius describes how he considers the matter carefully, comparing the issues with the authoritative sources he just mentioned: if he finds the new

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 428, 2–5 & p. 429, 22–25.

<sup>62</sup> οὓς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς συλλόγοις πρὸς Θεὸν πρέσβεις ἤροῦντο καὶ κανόνας τῆς ἀληθείας ὀνόμαζον. *Ibid.*, p. 368, 70 f.

<sup>63</sup> τὰ παρὰ τῶν μερῶν τοίνυν συνάγων καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων διδασκάλων ὡσπερ κανόνι παρατιθεῖς *Ibid.*, p. 421, 63 f.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 399, 53–67.

ideas agree with the authoritative sources, he accepts them; but if he is unable to reconcile them he rejects them, and takes refuge in the ancient, 'common' doctrines.<sup>65</sup> The word 'canon' is not used; but clearly the process is the time-honoured one of measuring new ideas against the 'rule' of orthodoxy.

If Demetrius' lists do not imply an *exclusive* 'canon' of writers (although the named authorities are a central part of the 'canon') what is the role and impact of the lists? This question can be approached obliquely, through Demetrius' justification of his recognition of Latin as well as Greek fathers. This is not an uncontroversial issue, and Demetrius discusses it at length, and in doing so makes clear the basis of his recognition of patristic authority.

Demetrius insists that difference in language is no reason for rejection of what it conveys. It is, Demetrius writes in the *Apologia III*, inexcusable for a Christian to think that those who write in Greek are trustworthy, while those who write in Latin are not—as if only one language were capable of the truth.<sup>66</sup> In the *Apologia I*,<sup>67</sup> he also insists that respect should be equal towards both Greek and Latin authorities, irrespective of language, because what matters is whether what is said is the truth, not the language used or how it is said.<sup>68</sup> A stone is a stone, whatever word is used for it; we judge by realities, not sounds.<sup>69</sup> So too in the case of Scripture: were language given priority over content, what is written in Greek would be believed, and what in Latin ('*Ρωμαϊστὶ*') rejected—without even broaching the problem of the Hebrew origin of much of Scripture.<sup>70</sup>

In another passage in the *Apologia I*, Scripture is used again to justify Demetrius' acceptance of Latin authority.<sup>71</sup> Discussing how to resolve the question of the Holy Spirit, Demetrius says that the discussion must be based only in Scripture and the teachers mentioned. It is to them that he refers: he

<sup>65</sup> ....καὶ οἷς ἔφην ὁμολογουμένοις τὰ ζητούμενα παραβάλλων, εἰ μὲν ἐκείνους εὕρισκω τὰ νέα συμβαίνοντα αὐτὸς τε ἀποδέχομαι.....εἰ δ' ἐξετάζων οὐχ οἷός τ' εἰμι τοῖς παλαιοῖς διαλλάττειν τὰ νέα....ἐμαντῶ δὲ τὰ ἀρχαῖα καὶ κοινῇ δεδογμένα συνενύχομαι. *Ibid.*, 61–67.

<sup>66</sup> ληρεῖν γὰρ ἄμην καὶ τετυφῶσθαι εἰ τις χριστιανὸς φάσκων εἶναι τοὺς μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα προϋειμένους ἀξιοπίστους ἠγοῦτο, τῶν δ' Ἰταλιστὶ διαλεγόμενων οὐδ' ἀκούειν ἀνέχοιτο, ὡσπερ μᾶ μόνον φωνῇ τοῦ ἀληθεύειν ἀποκεκληρωμένου, ταῖς δ' ἄλλαις ἐπιτακτέον σιγᾶν. *Ibid.*, p. 429, 9–12.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 382, 13–23.

<sup>68</sup> δεῖ δὲ κοινῇ ὑμῖν εἶναι καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους αἰδῶ, ἀλλὰ μὴ διαροῦντας πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τὴν Ἑλλάδα προϋειμένους φωνῇ εὐνοίαν ὡς πρὸς οἰκίους ἐνδείκνυσθαι, τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλῆς μηδ' ἀκούειν ἀνέχεσθαι....οὐ φωνῶν ἐξέτασιν δεῖ γίνεσθαι παρ' ὑμῖν, οὐδ' ὅπως ἕκαστος ἀλλὰ περὶ οὗ λέγει σκοπεῖν, καὶ εἰ τὸ τῆ φωνῇ δηλούμενον ἀληθές. *Ibid.*, 13–17.

<sup>69</sup> τί μᾶλλον λίθος τοδὶ, ἂν ὀδί μὲν οὕτως εἶπη, ἑτέρως δ' ἕτερος ἀπαγγεῖλη; τῶν γὰρ πραγμάτων χάριν, οὐ τοῦ ψόφου, διαλεγόμεθα. *Ibid.*, 17 ff.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 19–23.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 399, 79–85.

does *not* judge truth according to nationality.<sup>72</sup> He justifies this by citing the gospel: just as in Christ there is no male or female, no barbarian or Skyth, so too Asian does not differ from European in matters of truth: for someone to be authoritative, all that is necessary is that they should be a servant of Christ and acknowledged by both sides as a common teacher.<sup>73</sup>

The status of 'common teacher' or 'common father' (*κοινὸς διδάσκαλος/κοινὸς πατήρ*) is thus the criterion of doctrinal authority. *Κοινός* is a crucial term, much used by Demetrius. The passage of the *Apologia III* cited earlier,<sup>74</sup> in which Demetrius runs through the various authoritative sources, repeatedly uses *κοινός* in one form or another, to refer to fathers and councils and faith: decisions made in common (*κοινῇ*) in common meetings (*ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς συνελεύσεσιν*), synods termed catholic by the common body of the church (*τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας*), pronouncements made by the common teachers (*κοινῶν διδασκάλων*) concerning the common faith (*περὶ τῆς κοινῆς πίστεως*). The full significance of this with regard to what makes fathers authoritative is brought out in the *Apologia II*: Demetrius speaks of the authority of teachers common to both sides, given to both peoples by God, who have received the same prizes and praises from both God and the church.<sup>75</sup> The *κοινοὶ πατέρες*, evidently, are both inspired by God and recognized by the church as a whole. What demonstrates the authority of a *κοινὸς πατήρ* or *κοινὸς διδάσκαλος* is this recognition by the whole church, which, according to Demetrius' wider understanding of the authenticating of doctrine, is evidence of the divine guarantee.

That recognition by the whole church is crucial is shown by Demetrius' concern to demonstrate that Latin authorities *are* recognized by the east<sup>76</sup>—

<sup>72</sup> κἀπειδὴ τὸ περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος ζήτημα μόνην τὴν παρὰ τῶν Γραφῶν καὶ τῶν διδασκάλων ὧν ἔφην ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει, ἐπ' ἐκείνους καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀσφάλειαν τρέχω κἀγώ, οὐ τοῖς γένεσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν κρῖνων. *Ibid.*, 79–82.

<sup>73</sup> ὡς γὰρ ἐν Χριστῷ οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ οὔτε βάρβαρος οὔτε Σκύθης, οὕτως οὐδὲ τὸν Ἀσιανὸν τοῦ Εὐρωπαϊοῦ διαμετέον πρὸς γε τὸ ἀληθές, ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖ Χριστοῦ δοῦλον ἐκάτερον εἶναι καὶ παρὰ τῶν μαχομένων κοινὸν ὁμολογεῖσθαι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διδάσκαλον. *Ibid.*, 82–85. Here, Demetrius conflates Gal. 3:28 and Col. 3:11.

<sup>74</sup> Above, p. 86, with note 20.

<sup>75</sup> καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κοινὸς ἡμῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων διδασκάλους ἀπειδον, εἰδὼς ἀμφοῖν τοῖς ἔθνεσι...παρὰ Θεοῦ δεδομένους καὶ προσέτι τῶν ὁμοίων γερῶν καὶ ἐπαίων παρὰ τε Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τυγχάνοντας. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 420, 28–31.

<sup>76</sup> Vice versa, of course, there is not the same problem. Demetrius' knowledge of western theology would have shown him that the Latin church accepted Greek Fathers and incorporated aspects of their thought into Latin theology. This is reflected in the untroubled way Demetrius is able, in the *Apologia III*, to speak of the great honour in which the Greek Fathers are held by *both* nations (*ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἔθνεσι*), so that *neither* side would dare to contradict them. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 428, 5 ff.

without this, Demetrius would be undermined by his own principles. Demetrius is adamant that the Greek church *does* acknowledge Latin Fathers. In the *Apologia I* he points out that his opponents commemorate the very fathers they accuse of heresy.<sup>77</sup> In the *Apologia III*, this idea appears again,<sup>78</sup> but in a more sustained argument. Demetrius reminds his audience that the church (including the Greeks), far from giving honours only to Greeks, has particularly praised the Latin fathers for the many times they have guided the church through difficulties.<sup>79</sup> Because of this, the church, by common consent (*κοινῶ ψηφίσματι*), names the Latin fathers *κοινοὶ πατέρες, διδάσκαλοι πρόμαχοί, and σωτήρες* (saviours); and their opponents have been denounced by the common synods (*ὑπὸ τῶν κοινῶν συνόδων*).<sup>80</sup> This commemoration of the fathers shows that the leaders of the church saw no difference between Greek and Latin authorities.<sup>81</sup>

This concept, then, gives a better explanation of Demetrius' attitude to patristic doctrinal authority than would any idea of a restricted 'canon'. It also helps explain the function of the Demetrius' lists. The fathers named have a very special place in Christian tradition. The purpose of naming them is not to define a closed set of material, but to highlight a common denominator and fundamental shared tradition. The lists do not exclude other authorities. Demetrius would not, for example, deny authority to figures such as Dionysius, Maximus, or John Damascene; but he does not need to mention them to carry his point. The lists are demonstrative, not prescriptive.

This perhaps also goes some way to answering another question raised by Demetrius' discussion of patristic authority. In the *Apologia I*,<sup>82</sup> Demetrius asserts that the writings of the Latin fathers are easily accessible to those in the east who wish to read them. If anyone wants to hear these fathers in

<sup>77</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 383, 61–65.

<sup>78</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 429, 12–22.

<sup>79</sup> οὐδὲ τοῖς μὲν ἡμετέροις μόνοις παρὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τὸ τῆς ἀγιοσύνης καὶ διδασκαλίας γέρας ἐδόδοτο... ἀλλὰ καὶ κείνων ὡς ἀριστέων λόγος ἦν πολὺς παρὸ ἡμῶν καὶ ὡς πολλάκις ἐν μεγάλῳ χεμῶν τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν κυβερνησάντων ἐλέγετο παρὰ πάντων ἐγκώμα. *Ibid.*, 12–16.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 16–19. In the *Apologia I*, Demetrius also accuses opponents of the Latins of being perfectly aware how the Latin fathers were honoured by the church but nevertheless continuing to reject them (*καίτοι ἤδσαν μὲν καὶ κείνους τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἷς καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὑπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐγκωμίοις τετιμημένους καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων γερωῶν καὶ ἕμνων τετυχηκότας, πατέρας τε καὶ διδασκάλους ὀνομαζομένους κοινούς, ἀλλ' ὁμως ἠναισχούνητον*). *Ibid.*, 368, 66–69).

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 19–22.

<sup>82</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 382 f., 41–49.

Attic, there are interpreters at hand to make this possible.<sup>83</sup> He adds that there have been people previously who were also involved in this; who transmitted much of what the Latins had to say, making it available to the 'descendants of the Hellenes'.<sup>84</sup> Coy about his own work, Demetrius nevertheless claims that much Latin thought is accessible in elegant Attic.<sup>85</sup>

One of the problems this passage raises is the question of what exactly it refers to. It would, perhaps, be natural to think in terms of written translations of traditional patristic sources. But this immediately comes up against the problem of evidence. Historically speaking, there was, of course, a transfer of some such material through translation in the Late Antique period; but this was by no means comprehensive, and seems to have been little reflected in the Late Byzantine period. Demetrius' own work also, in this sense, scarcely fits the bill: although he worked on some patristic authors, particularly Augustine, the bulk of his effort went into much later texts. And even if one includes Prochoros' and Planudes' translations, patristic authors—the 'fathers'—still make up relatively little of the material translated. Seen in this way, Demetrius' claims begin to look like rhetoric, with little basis in reality.

However, there may be another way of understanding the passage. The wording may leave room for a rather looser idea of 'transmission' of Latin patristic thought. When he speaks of translators and transmission, and the availability of material, it need not be assumed that Demetrius means that entire works were available, physically copied down in Greek. He could be thinking more in terms of the communication of Latin ideas and doctrines, perhaps in writing but perhaps even by verbal communication. In which case, Demetrius' claims can be considered realistic. If the communication of ideas can be verbal, there is no need for evidence of written translation; but even if the transmission of Latin thought is still to be thought of as written, the known translations can fit the bill. The thought of Latin patristic authors is amply covered in later, scholastic writings, many of which are repositories of such material.<sup>86</sup> There may thus be no contradiction between Demetrius' description of the accessibility of Latin ideas and the reality of the situation at the time.

<sup>83</sup> καίτοι εἴ γε τούτων Ἀττικῶς φθεγγομένων ἀκούειν ποθεῖ τις, ἐγγὺς οἶ καὶ τοῦτο δώσοντες ὑμῖν ἐρμηνεῖς. *Ibid.*, 41 f.

<sup>84</sup> εἰσι δ' οἷς καὶ τοῦτ' ἐμέλησε πρὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ μεταγαρόντες πολλὰ τῶν ἐκείνων παισὶν Ἑλλήνων ἔθηκαν συνετά. *Ibid.*, 43 f.

<sup>85</sup> τὸ γὰρ ἡμετέρον οὐκ ἐρῶ... ὁμως πλείστα ἂν εὔροι τις ἐκείνων οὐχ Ἑλληνικῶ μόνον ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ Ἀττικῶ κόσμῳ καὶ μετὰ κομφείας ἀπηγγελέμενα. *Ibid.*, 45–48.

<sup>86</sup> As emphasised above, p. 35.

When it comes to councils, Demetrius in some ways gives tantalizingly little detail of how he understands them. At no time, in the writings covered in this study, does he designate seven Councils, or make specific references to given councils.<sup>87</sup> This is particularly frustrating given his interest in the Photian councils.<sup>88</sup> His collection of references to Augustine in conciliar texts is further evidence of his direct engagement with such material.<sup>89</sup> But it is clear that he considered there to be certain ‘catholic’ synods, recognized as such by the whole church, which were particularly authoritative. The recognition by the whole church in the case of councils, as in the case of fathers, endowed them with the same divine guarantee.

Besides this, Demetrius also implies respect for lesser synods. In the *Apologia IV*, there is a passage in which he justifies Prochoros’ failure to support Philotheos at the time of Philotheos’ deposition and condemnation, apparently something Philotheos resented.<sup>90</sup> Demetrius stresses that it would have been wrong for Prochoros to go against the decision of the synod.<sup>91</sup> The synod in question is clearly local as opposed to ‘catholic’, yet has authority: the authentic functioning of local ecclesiastical institutions, it would seem, Demetrius regards as binding.

Demetrius’ regard for local synods as a continuing element in the authentic functioning of the church raises the question of whether he sees the venerable institution of the ‘catholic’ synod as a similarly living tradition. As will be seen, this is a particularly important question in terms of Byzantine dealings with the west in the fourteenth century.<sup>92</sup> The *Apologia III* makes it clear that he does regard it in this way. If, he says, there were to be a common council, bringing together both sides, to deal with the dispute with the Latins, he would prefer its verdict to all other forms of proof, since such a verdict could not be passed without God’s inspiration.<sup>93</sup> Evidently, what applies to earlier councils can also apply to the future: the ‘canon’ of councils is not closed,

<sup>87</sup> Unlike Barlaam, for example, who, in his ‘Orthodox’ incarnation, is very clear about this number of councils (Kolbaba, ‘Barlaam the Calabrian’, p. 94, 2), and draws many of his arguments from specific conciliar material (ibid., esp. pp. 52–59).

<sup>88</sup> Above, p. 27.

<sup>89</sup> Above, p. 32.

<sup>90</sup> See below, p. 238.

<sup>91</sup> τὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ συνόδῳ κοινῇ δόξαντα λύειν. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 319, 93 f.

<sup>92</sup> Below, esp. pp. 166 ff, pp. 259 ff.

<sup>93</sup> εἰ μὲν ἦν τι περὶ ὧν ἀμφισβητοῦμεν Λατίνοις κοινὸν συνέδριον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν συναληλυθὸς ὃ τι δεῖ περὶ τούτου φρονεῖν ἢ λέγειν ἀποφηνάμενον.....πάντων μὲν συλλογισμῶν, πάσης δὲ μαρτυρίας, πάσης δὲ ἀποδείξεως προετίμησα ἂν τὰ ἐκεῖ ψηφισθέντα, οὐκ ἄνευ Θεοῦ πεπεισμένος ἐνεχθῆναι ἂν ποτε δύνασθαι τὴν ψῆφον ἐκείνην. Ibid., pp. 427 f., 73–77.

but, depending as it does on God and the confirmation of the whole church, has every possibility of being augmented. Logically, the same can be said for the fathers.

### 3.2. SPECIFIC ISSUES

The discussion so far has not looked specifically at Demetrius’ treatment of the main points of debate in the fourteenth century, for reasons mentioned above.<sup>94</sup> Having looked at the principles behind Demetrius’ approach, however, it is now time to look more specifically at these issues; namely, his approach to the papacy, the *filioque*, and Palamism/hesychasm.

#### 3.2.1. *The Church, East and West*

Demetrius’ attitude towards the papacy is expressed directly in a number of passages, of which the longest by far is found in the *Apologia I*. The passage is presented as an answer—a ‘speech’—given by Demetrius to objections put forward by opponents of the Latins. The speech is given a narrative framework, with a brief introduction to set the scene.<sup>95</sup> In this introduction, Demetrius relates how he, wanting to investigate the question of the Holy Spirit, decided to consult leading Greeks, asking them why the Latins are rejected and condemned, and how they are to be refuted. Demetrius says that he was ready to take the Greek side, if convinced by the answers.

According to Demetrius, the answers he received followed two lines of approach. The first, he says, was expressed in terms of praise of New Rome at the expense of the Old; Constantinople was extolled, and Old Rome, by contrast, described as diminished and no longer worthy of the name.<sup>96</sup> This then was used as an argument in favour of Constantinople’s authority: because of Constantinople’s supremacy, her judgements, supported by emperors and four patriarchs, must be followed; not to accept this would be to oppose God and the truth.<sup>97</sup> The second approach taken, according to Demetrius,

<sup>94</sup> p. 83.

<sup>95</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 369 f., 9–23.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 24–35.

<sup>97</sup> ἔλεγεν.....δεῖν.....ἔπεσθαι δὲ τῇ νέῃ ὡς ἂν ἐπ’ ἀκριβοῦς ἐστηκνία, καὶ ταύτῃ διδασκάλῳ χρῆσθαι περὶ τὰ θεῖα, βασιλείων τε τῶν ἐγκαθημένων ψήφοις κεκυρωμένα καὶ τεττάρων πατριαρχῶν συνεπιψηφισθέντων, οἷς ἀντιλέγειν σαφῆ πρὸς τε Θεὸν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν πόλεμον εἶναι. Ibid., 30–35.

used Greek tradition as its basis.<sup>98</sup> The question of the procession of the Spirit, according to this, should not even be raised, because the question is closed: previous generations rejected the Latin position, and were nevertheless favoured by God—indeed, some are considered martyrs *because* they opposed the Latin belief.<sup>99</sup> Their miracles and prophecies prove that the Greek stance is right.<sup>100</sup>

The first of these approaches provides the context for the discussion of Rome in the *Apologia I*. Demetrius uses his opponents' praise of Constantinople as point of departure for what follows. He responds in two ways.<sup>101</sup> First, he undermines the validity of the argument. These considerations have no bearing on the question of the Holy Spirit; they cannot justify criticism of the Latins.<sup>102</sup> Larger cities do not automatically command allegiance: otherwise Bethlehem and Nazareth would lose out to Jerusalem and Zion's God to the Babylonian gods.<sup>103</sup> On the other hand, even if this were the case, Rome would still prevail: those who know Old Rome, Demetrius claims, know that it is greater than the New.<sup>104</sup> Moreover, Rome's precedence has to do with more than size: Constantinople's dignity and rule originated in Rome; Constantinople is Rome's colony, and therefore should obey her.<sup>105</sup> This, moreover, can be said particularly of ecclesiastical authority: Constantinople's sphere of influence is far less than Rome's; if the dignity of the churches is to be judged by the numbers subject to them, Rome easily takes precedence.<sup>106</sup>

Demetrius' praise of Rome goes further. He relates what he says a reliable informant has told him about Rome. According to this, Rome distributed to the other churches authority, income and rank, as is only fitting given that she received authority in all things from Christ: this, he says,

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., pp. 370f., 36–55.

<sup>99</sup> «τὸ ταυτὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις φρονεῖν οὐδὲν ἐκώλυσεν εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ Θεῶ καὶ τῶν ἐπισημῶν παρ' ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τοῖς μάρτυσιν ἐπίσης ἀναρρηθῆναι ὡσπερ πρὸς εἶδωλα οὕτω κατὰ τῆς Λατίνων δόξης ἡγωνισμένους». Ibid., 46–49.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 49–52.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., pp. 371f., 55–99.

<sup>102</sup> οὕτε γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐκ τούτων ἢ περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος δόξα καλῶς ἔχουσα δεικνύται, τοῖς τε λεγομένοις ὑπὸ Λατίνων οὐδεὶς ἔλεγχος ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀκολουθεῖ. Ibid., 58 ff.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 60–76.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 76–80.

<sup>105</sup> See above, 88 f., with references.

<sup>106</sup> ταυτὸ δ' ἂν τις εἴποι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἱερωσύνης...εἰ τις τῶ τῶν ὑπηκόων πλήθει βούλοιο κρίνειν τὰ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ἀξιώματα, πολλὴν ἂν παρ' ἐκείνην τὴν ὑπεροχὴν οὖσαν εὔροι. Ibid., 88 f., 97 ff.

can be found attested in the archives of Roman history.<sup>107</sup> This is probably an allusion to the *Donation of Constantine*.<sup>108</sup>

Demetrius' informant goes on to describe Rome from two angles: in terms of the power and influence of the hierarchy, and in terms, so to speak, of the 'grass roots'.<sup>109</sup> From the first angle, he says that every ruler has to acknowledge dependence on the Roman church.<sup>110</sup> Rome distributes favours to all, as emperors do to their subjects: by doing so, Rome increases both herself and the others.<sup>111</sup> Established for eternity, charged with care of all by Christ, Rome sends orthodox teachers to the ends of the earth in the steps of the apostles, determines divine and human law, is guardian of peace and wisdom and mother and mistress (*δεσποίνη*) of all.<sup>112</sup> Opposition to her is opposition to God: her sovereignty is as incontestable as God's sovereignty over the universe.<sup>113</sup> From the 'grass roots' perspective, Rome's authority is shown by the character of her subjects: they have no dealings with the enemies of Christ, are law-abiding, fearful to their enemies, well-disposed to friends, exceptionally prosperous. Further, they have many wise men, philosophers, theologians and ascetics who all regard Rome as mistress (*δεσποίνη*) and mother, and are prepared to die for Christ and for her, and fight those who dishonour her.<sup>114</sup> According to Demetrius' informant, Rome gives every proof of divine election and harmony with divine will.

This picture of Rome is contrasted, apparently very deliberately, with the situation of the Greek church: the same two perspectives are used.<sup>115</sup> In contrast with the authority given to Rome, and its exercise, the patriarch is portrayed as powerless and morally inferior: he takes little care of his flock, and is forced into servility because his office is in the emperor's gift

<sup>107</sup> ἤκουσα δὲ ἔγωγε ἀνδρός, ὃ φησι Δημοσθένης, οὐδαμῶς οἶον τε ψεύδεσθαι, ὡς αὐτὴ δὴ ἐστὶν ἢ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις Ἐκκλησίαις τὰς τε ἡγεμονίας καὶ τὰς προσόδους καὶ τὰ ἀξιώματα νεύμασα, ὡς προσῆκον τῇ παρὰ Χριστοῦ τὴν κατὰ πάντων ἐξουσίαν λαχούση, τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πεπραγμένων γεγραμμένον εὐρήσθαι. Ibid., p. 372, 99–(40)3.

<sup>108</sup> See above, p. 28.

<sup>109</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 372 f., 3–27.

<sup>110</sup> καὶν ὅπως οὖν τις...ἢ σεμνός καὶ φρονήματος πλήρης, τῇ τῆς Ῥώμης Ἐκκλησίᾳ λογιζέσθω τὸν ὄγκον, παρ' ἧς αὐτῶ μετὰ τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ τὸ ἔχειν ἂν ἄρξει. Ibid., 3 ff.

<sup>111</sup> τῶν γὰρ ἑαυτῆς ὡσπερ τοὺς ὑπάρχους οἱ βασιλεῖς μεταδοῦσα πάντας ἐτίμησεν, ὡστ' οὐ μόνον τοῖς μείνασι παρ' αὐτῇ πλέον ἔχη, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς ἐχαρισάτο τὰς ἄλλας πλεονεκτεῖ, αὐτῆς γὰρ ἥδη τὰ πασῶν γίνεται. Ibid., 5–8.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 8–15.

<sup>113</sup> σαφῆ πρὸς Θεὸν εἶναι πόλεμον τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνην ἀναίδειαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτῇ τις τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμφισβήτησεν ὡσπερ οὐδὲ Θεῶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῶν ὄλων. Ibid., 16–18.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 19–27.

<sup>115</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 373, 27–p. 375, 75.

and is easily undermined.<sup>116</sup> Demetrius contrasts this servility with the freedom the church (the Bride of Christ) should enjoy.<sup>117</sup> From the 'grass roots' perspective, contrasting Rome's subjects with those of Constantinople, Demetrius describes the parlous condition of the Greeks: externally they are endangered and oppressed, with daily defections to the enemy, while internally all is chaos and lawlessness, a loss of culture and civilization; the emperors are even forced into servitude to the barbarians.<sup>118</sup> If, Demetrius repeats, status is measured by the subjects of a throne, then the Latins are in an incomparably better situation. He concludes by directly comparing the freedom of the Latins, who know no master other than God, the church and the laws, to the misery of the Greeks.<sup>119</sup>

So Demetrius, while on one level rejecting any argument that bases spiritual authority on secular power and prowess, at the same time insists that such arguments could not in any case support Greek claims—and in insisting on this, provides a portrait of Rome which gives considerable insight into the tenor of sources and ideas current and accessible to him.

His next move in the *Apologia I*, however, takes him onto more ideological ground. Where he has previously been verbose, now he is concise, putting a set of key theological arguments into a few words. He mentions Peter; Christ's injunction to Peter to 'feed my sheep';<sup>120</sup> the keys;<sup>121</sup> the injunction that Peter should strengthen the brethren.<sup>122</sup> He mentions that the bishop of Rome, the shepherd of shepherds, inherits all this, and that it has always been the custom, witnessed to by synods and imperial decrees, that all parts of the hierarchy are subject to him; that jurisdictional powers reside with him; and that all must follow his decisions.<sup>123</sup> This passage gives an entirely different basis for the authority of Rome: it gives the papacy Scriptural justification, supported by tradition and synodal and imperial witness. Thus it complies

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 27–38.

<sup>117</sup> *τοιαύτη δουλεία τε και αίσχυνή την του Χριστου νόμην ἴδοι τις ἂν παρῶ ἡμῶν ἐκκειμένην, ἣς την παρορησίαν και την δια πάντων ἐλευθερίαν ὡσπερ τι σύμβολον εἶναι προσήκον.* Ibid., 39 ff.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 41–68. See also above, p. 60.

<sup>119</sup> *ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ πάντες, πλην Θεου και Ἐκκλησίας και νόμων μηδένα ἄλλον εἰδότες δεσπότην· ἡμεῖς δέ... και τοιαῦτα μονωδεῖν ἠναγκάσμεθα.* Ibid., 73 ff. On Demetrius' emphasis on freedom, see above, p. 59.

<sup>120</sup> John 21:17.

<sup>121</sup> Matthew 16:18.

<sup>122</sup> Luke 22:32.

<sup>123</sup> *Και οὕτω λέγω τον Πέτρον και τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν μὲν παρὰ του Σωτήρος λεχθὲν περὶ τῆς τῶν προβάτων ποιμαντικῆς και τὰς κλεῖς και τον τῶν ἀδελφῶν στηριγμόν, πρὸς δὲ τον Ῥώμης ἱερέα ὡσπερ τινὰ κληρον τουτ' αἰεὶ διαβαῖνον και ποιμένα ποιμένων τον ταύτης ἐπὶ καιροῦ προσστατοῦντα χειροτονοῦν, σαφῶς γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτὸν εἶναι τὰ ἱερά πάντα γένη και πρὸς*

with the fundamental principles for identifying authority identified earlier in this chapter. But, oddly enough, Demetrius does not expand upon this here. Instead, he turns to discussion of accusations of error made against the papacy by the Greeks.<sup>124</sup>

He does this first by stringing together a set of rather inconclusive ideas. He argues first that there is every reason to follow the authority of the pope in doubtful matters if the authorities he has mentioned have granted primacy to the pope, on the principle that one should always obey authorities in their sphere.<sup>125</sup> He adds that the papacy's decisions are also supported by the quality of papal advisors.<sup>126</sup> Then he makes a number of comments based on legal procedure: as yet, there is no proof of papal error, and what has not yet been proved should not be assumed; moreover, it is unclear where, how and by whom a pope can in any case be tried, and there must be a trial before there is condemnation.<sup>127</sup> Another point is that the pope's power is spiritual, not political: he is high priest among high priests, father of fathers. If all sacred things are in his care, and faith is the most sacred and most holy thing, then his authority is highest in matters of faith—again following the axiom that one must follow authorities in their field, and the pope's authority lies in this field.<sup>128</sup>

Demetrius moves on to rather more consequential territory when he then turns to examine the consequences of saying the papacy is in error.<sup>129</sup> There is a fundamental problem in saying this, because no other authority has the guarantees given to Rome. Therefore, if the pope errs, nothing is guaranteed: there is no hope, in particular, for the Greek patriarchate.<sup>130</sup> Demetrius uses the argument that Constantinople herself has proved heretical (has

*αὐτὸν πᾶσαν δίκην ἐκκλητον γίνεσθαι και πᾶσιν ἀνάγκην εἶναι ταῖς ἐκείνου πείθεσθαι ψήφοις τό τε ἄνωθεν ἔθος και αἱ τῶν συνόδων γνώμαι και τὰ τῶν βασιλέων δόγματα μαρτυρεῖ, οἷς οὐδ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τολμήσαιμεν λέγειν ὑπεναντία.* Ibid., p. 375, 76–83.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 375, 83–(50)0.

<sup>125</sup> *εἰ παρῶ ὧν εἶπον τὸ πρωτεῖον ἐκείνω, εὐλογώτερον περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων ἐκείνω προστίθεσθαι, ἐπει και τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐν οἷς ἄρχουσι πείθεσθαι νόμος.* Ibid., 83 ff.

<sup>126</sup> *ἄλλως τε και μετὰ πλείστον, προσθήσω δ' ὅτι και βελτίστον, βουλευομένων, και τοσοῦτοις και τοιούτοις προβόλοις ἠσφαλισμένης τῆς γνώμης αὐτῶ.* Ibid., 86 ff.

<sup>127</sup> *εἰ δὲ τις ἐκείνων φήσειεν ἠπατήσθαι και χρῆναι τῆς ἀπάτης πάντας ἀποπηδᾶν, πρῶτον μὲν οὕτω ταύτης ἔχομεν ἀποδείξεις, και οὐ δίκαιον ἂ χρεῶν ζητεῖν ὑποτίθεσθαι, οὔτε γὰρ ὅπου και τίνες οἱ καταψηφισάμενοι τούτου, και σφόδρα ζητοῦντες εὐρήσομεν, και πρὸ τῶν ἐλέγχων ἀπαιτεῖν δίκας παράνομον.* Ibid., 88–92.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 92–(50)0.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., pp. 375 f., (50)0–32.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., (50)0–5.

‘innovated’) in the past, and been rescued from destruction only by Rome.<sup>131</sup> If Rome’s role as guarantor is challenged, Constantinople has no claims to such inerrancy, and there remains no firm point of reference.<sup>132</sup> This undermines the unity of the faith: instead of the ‘one faith’ Paul speaks of (Eph. 4:5), Christianity falls into division and conflict, a laughing-stock for the infidels.<sup>133</sup> Particularly worrying is that mutual accusations of heresy, apostasy and schism flung at each other by Latins and Greeks repel potential converts to Christianity: Christians are thus like the Pharisees in the gospel (Luke 11:52)—unable to enter themselves, they prevent others from doing so.<sup>134</sup>

After this defence of papal doctrinal infallibility, Demetrius tries to argue for the reasonableness and necessity of papal claims in other ways. He draws a parallel between the claims of Rome and the claims of the Greek patriarchate.<sup>135</sup> Constantinople would be quick to condemn cities within her sphere of influence for rejecting her authority: in rebelling against her, such cities would be setting themselves against the wisdom of the patriarch and his advisors, which, according to church law, should be obeyed.<sup>136</sup> Latin claims are equivalent to this and the Greeks should accept them: the laws of the church have always placed ‘us’ below ‘them.’<sup>137</sup>

This leads Demetrius to talk about the principle of order as it relates to the church.<sup>138</sup> Order demands that Constantinople rank lower than Rome. Christ himself was greatly concerned to establish order in the church.<sup>139</sup> But general principles can also be applied. A large body requires order, if it is to avoid disorder, confusion and dissolution:<sup>140</sup> therefore this applies also to the

<sup>131</sup> ἵστε γὰρ οἷα πολλάκις ἡ νέα αὕτη περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐνεωτέρισεν, κἄν ἀπώλετο παντελῶς κρημισθεῖσα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συγκατασπάσασα εἰ μὴ παρὰ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας... ἀνωρθώθη. Ibid., 5–7.

<sup>132</sup> ὥστε τίς μηχανῆ μὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν πίστιν εἰς αἴνγμα τελευτήσῃ, οὐδαμοῦ στήναι τῆς περὶ τούτων ἐξετάσεως δυναμένης; παρὸν οὐδενὶ γὰρ λοιπὸν ἔσται τὸ βέβαιον πάντων ἀπιστουμένων. Ibid., 9–12.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 12–16.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 17–32.

<sup>135</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 376, 33–41.

<sup>136</sup> οἷς πείθεσθαι παρὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀνωθεν ἐντολή. Ibid., 37.

<sup>137</sup> ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἡμῖν ἀξιοῦμεν τοὺς ἐλάττους ὑπείκεν, οὕτω κἀκεῖνοι ταῦτα παρὰ ἡμῶν ἀπαιτοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ἀνωθεν νόμιμα ὑπὲρ ἐκείνους παντελῶς ἡμᾶς ἄγει. Ibid., 39 ff.

<sup>138</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 377, 42–81.

<sup>139</sup> τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τὸ τῆς τάξεως καλὸν ἀπαιτεῖ, ἧς μάλιστα ἐφρόντισεν ὁ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τοῖς οἰκείοις πάθεσι καὶ συναγαγὼν καὶ πηξάμενος... Ibid., 42–43.

<sup>140</sup> ὅλως δὲ παντὶ πλήθει τάξεως χωρισθέντι ἀκοσμία καὶ σύγχυσις καὶ λύσις... ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀκολουθεῖ. Ibid., 44 f.

church, if it is to be united as one body worthy of its head.<sup>141</sup> Order requires there to be a first, a second etc, to guarantee peaceful existence:<sup>142</sup> this must apply to the church because of the promise (Matt. 16:18) that the gates of hell would not prevail against it.<sup>143</sup> The church must have the best form of government:<sup>144</sup> since the best form of government is the form furthest from multiplicity, with one leader uniting the many,<sup>145</sup> this is what the church must have; and by doing so it will be following Christ, who entrusted primacy to just *one* of his disciples.<sup>146</sup> The primacy, moreover, is inherited: what was needed in the apostolic age is needed even more so now, with the church so much larger.<sup>147</sup>

The implications of rebellion against this, for Demetrius, are monstrous.<sup>148</sup> Anyone who aspires to the leadership must be able to demonstrate who it is who gives him this authority.<sup>149</sup> If—as Demetrius believes—everyone agrees that the leader is the bishop of Rome, whose primacy was given him by Christ and Peter, to go against this is nothing less than to intend the dissolution of the body of the church.<sup>150</sup> Accusations aimed at the pope result from lust for power, not zeal for the faith;<sup>151</sup> and removing the single authority would lead to the dissolution of the church, just as an army collapses in disorder without its leader.<sup>152</sup>

Moreover, there is no basis, according to Demetrius, for saying that if Rome’s position were lost, Constantinople would take its place.<sup>153</sup> Only ‘we’

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 45–50.

<sup>142</sup> ἀνάγκη τῇ τάξει καὶ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ τὸ ἐφεξῆς συνεισάγεσθαι, ὃ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι συνεφέλεται οὐ γὰρ ἔστι συνελθόντας τινὰς ἡρεμήσειν ποτὲ μὴ τῶν ἀρχόντων διαλλαττόντων αὐτούς... Ibid., 50–53.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 54–59.

<sup>144</sup> τὴν ἀρίστην τοίνυν ἐν αὐτῇ καταστατέον ἀρχὴν. Ibid., 59.

<sup>145</sup> τοιαύτη δὲ ἡ ὅτι μάλιστα πλήθους ἀποχωροῦσα καὶ ἓνα μόνον τὸν ἀριστον ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὄλων προβαλλομένη, τὸ γὰρ ὁμονοεῖν καὶ εἰς ἓν ὅσον οἷόν τε τοὺς πολλοὺς συναρθεῖσθαι κάλλιστα ἂν ὑφ’ ἐνὸς γίγνοιτο. Ibid., 62 ff.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 65–72.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 72–81.

<sup>148</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 378, 82–99.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 82–88.

<sup>150</sup> εἰ δ’ ὥσπερ ἀφ’ ἐνὸς στόματος πάντες ἐκείνον τὸν ἓνα τὸν τὴν Ῥώμην ἰθύνοντα λέγουσιν εἶναι κἀκεῖν παρὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ Πέτρου δεδόσθαι τὸ πρωτεῖον δυσχορίζονται, πῶς οὐ λύσιν ἀντικρὺς ὄλον τοῦ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας σώματος μηχανᾶται ὁ πρὸς ἐκείνον φιλονεικῶν καὶ τὴν ὑποταγὴν παραιτούμενος... Ibid., 88–92.

<sup>151</sup> εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐθέλοι συκοφαντεῖν, δηλὸς ἔστιν οὐ τῆς πίστεως φροντίζων τῆς δὲ ἀρχῆς ὀρεγόμενος. Ibid., 94 ff.

<sup>152</sup> ἅμα τε γὰρ τοῦ ἀρχοντος ἀλογήσει, καὶ τὸν κοινὸν ἀναρῆσει δεσμόν, οὗ λυθέντος οἰχθήσεται τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας λυθὲν καὶ αὐτό, ὥσπερ καὶ στρατηγοῦ πεσόντος οὐδεὶς λοιπὸν ἐν τάξει βούλεται μένειν. Ibid., 96–99.

<sup>153</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 378 f., (60)0–20.

think that this idea has any force, because it is not enough to be second to then inherit the primacy.<sup>154</sup> inheritance does not work like that. Comparison with models of inheritance in princely families is inappropriate,<sup>155</sup> while if primacy were elective, it would be necessary to hold a further election, and in that case Constantinople's rights would be contested by both Alexandria and Antioch.<sup>156</sup> But the highest priestly rank is not in any case awarded on earthly terms, and if the leader is no more, and no other leader is authorized by divine laws, the church has no lord, and there is no longer one church, but an infinite, unstable multitude.<sup>157</sup>

The result of this, Demetrius says,<sup>158</sup> would be the opposite of monarchy: anarchy, the worst of all things, the cause of all evils, which creates disorder in all things, brings all good things to nothing.<sup>159</sup> Its effects Demetrius sees amongst the Greeks: innovations in faith, contention, the tendency of everyone to live as they see fit.<sup>160</sup> This turmoil is what happens when there is no-one to correct the ignorant, to provide guidance in matters of doubt.<sup>161</sup> And this, Demetrius concludes, is the current situation of the Greeks: that is, amongst 'you'.<sup>162</sup> Demetrius, who so often uses the first person plural to identify himself with his fellow-Greeks, notably disassociates himself from them in this case.

As can be seen, Demetrius' treatment of Rome in the *Apologia I* is lengthy and approaches the question on different levels, touching—briefly—upon numerous ideas and motifs found in fourteenth-century discussions of the position of the papacy.<sup>163</sup> In the *Apologia III*, by contrast, Demetrius gives

<sup>154</sup> οὐκ οἶδα εἴ τιαι πλὴν ἡμῶν τοῦτ' ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι δόξει, οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ τὸ δεύτερον εἶναι πρὸς τὸ τῶν πρωτείων τυχεῖν. Ibid., 1 ff.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 3 ff.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 5–12.

<sup>157</sup> εἰ τοίνυν ὁ μὲν ἄνωθεν πρῶτος νῦν οὐδαμοῦ, ἕτερον δὲ παρὰ τῶν θείων νόμων τὸ πρωτεῖον οὐ συγκεχώρηται, οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὡς εἰκεν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ νῦν πάντων κύριος, τοιγαροῦν οὐδεὶς πρῶτος.... ὥστ' οὐδὲ μίαν Ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς οὕτως ἔχοντας δεῖ προσεπειῖν, πλῆθος δὲ τι μόνον ἀόριστον καὶ ἀστάθμητον. Ibid., 14–19.

<sup>158</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 379, 20–32.

<sup>159</sup> τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ πάντων χειριστον καὶ πάντων κακῶν αἴτιον ἀναρχία, πόλεις μὲν ἀναστάτους ποιοῦσα παρὰ αἷς ἂν κρατήσῃ, ἰδίους δὲ οἴκους ἀνατρέπουσα, πάντα δὲ τὰ καλῶς ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν συνωθοῦσα. Ibid., 20 ff.

<sup>160</sup> ἥς καὶ πολλ' ἂν τις ἴδοι νῦν ἀποτελέσματα παρ' ἡμῶν. ὧν.... αἱ περὶ τὴν πίστιν.... καινοτομία καὶ ἔριδες καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὰς αὐτοῦ δόξας ἕκαστον ζῆν. Ibid., 23–25.

<sup>161</sup> οὐ γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ τοῖς ἀμαθέσιν ἐπιτιμήσοντος καὶ παρ' ὧν περὶ τῶν ἀφισβητουμένων ἢ ἔφρεις, πάντα θορύβου μεστά. Ibid., 25 f.

<sup>162</sup> οἷον δὲ ὑμῶν κάκεινο. Ibid., 31 f.

<sup>163</sup> Comparison, for example, with the ideas found in Barlaam's treatises (Kolbaba, 'Balaam the Calabrian') reveals numerous parallels, although also significant differences.

a much briefer account of the subject,<sup>164</sup> which, when compared with the account in the *Apologia I*, is particularly useful for identifying what Demetrius considers the most important aspects of his argument.

This passage in the *Apologia III* starts by placing matters in the context of providence and monarchy. Providence guides all things, and particularly the church, since the church is especially loved by God.<sup>165</sup> Monarchy in human institutions parallels the activity of God in the universe, and therefore is particularly suited to the church.<sup>166</sup> Thus Demetrius starts by placing church governance firmly within a universal system. Then he goes on to speak of the specifics of Peter's appointment and the role of his successors, supporting this by Scriptural references. Initially, physically present with the disciples, Christ himself supplied the church's need for monarchy.<sup>167</sup> But when he was no longer physically present, Christ instead, knowing that humans require a human shepherd, provided for their needs by appointing Peter, to provide unity; and so all must look to Peter for guidance.<sup>168</sup> Peter, πρῶτος and κορυφαῖος, holds primacy in all church matters.<sup>169</sup> Christ, moreover, ensured that Peter would have successors,<sup>170</sup> so that there would always be one to unite the church in peace and concord.<sup>171</sup> Even opponents admit this: they do not dare to fight openly against Christ's appointment of Peter, the decisions of the councils, imperial laws and venerable tradition, all of which confirm Peter's see in all power, and its authority to resolve doubtful issues.<sup>172</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 430, 59–433, 50.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., 59–66.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 66–75.

<sup>167</sup> πρότερον μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Κύριος καὶ Διδάσκαλος τοῖς μαθηταῖς συνῶν τῇ πρώτῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ταύτῃ τὴν χρεῖαν παρεῖχεν. Ibid., 75 ff.

<sup>168</sup> ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν οἰκονομίαν πληρώσας τὴν σωματικὴν συνουσίαν ἔμελλεν αὐτῶν ἀφαιρεῖν.... οὐδ' οὕτω τῆς ἐν τῷ παντὶ τάξεως ἔρημον κατέλιπε τῶν μαθητῶν τὸν χορόν, ἀλλὰ..... ἐπεὶ τοῖς μετὰ σώματος ἐτι ζῶσι καὶ ὁμοίον ἔδει πομένους.... ἕνα τῶν μαθητῶν ὁ πρῶτος ποιμὴν καὶ διδάσκαλος ἐξαίρετον ποιησάμενος τοῖς ἄλλοις πομένα καὶ προστάτην ἐφίστη, τὴν τοῦ διδασκάλου χώραν καὶ χρεῖαν πληρῶσοντα, ἐκείνῳ τε καὶ ἐαυτῷ καὶ ἀλλήλοις τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀνθρώπους ἐνώσοντα. Καὶ ἦν οὗτος ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος.... πρὸς ὃν πάντας ἔχρη ἀφορᾶν καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου δέχεσθαι τὰ τῆς θεοσεβείας συνθήματα. Ibid., 77–88.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 88–92.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 92–(20)3.

<sup>171</sup> ἵνα τὸ μέχρι παντὸς διαμένειν μέλλον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας πολίτευμα ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμονοίας συναγωγῆς μηδέποτε ἐπιλίπη. Ibid., (20)3 f.

<sup>172</sup> καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀντιπολιτεύεσθαι βουλομένων, συγχωρουμένων, ὀκνοῦντων ὡς ἂν οἴμαι τῇ τε Χριστοῦ χειροτονίᾳ καὶ τοῖς τῶν συνόδων ψηφίσμασι καὶ τοῖς τῶν βασιλέων νόμοις καὶ τῷ τοῦ χρόνου μήκει ἀνέδην οὕτωσι πολεμεῖν, παρ' ὧν πάντων τῇ Πέτρον καθέδρᾳ ἢ κατὰ πάντων ἀρχῇ συγκεχώρηται καὶ τὸ τὰς περὶ τῆς πίστεως ἀνακυπτούσας ἀμφισβητήσεις ὀρίζειν. Ibid., 6–10.



Demetrius uses a range of biblical passages in the *Apologia III*,<sup>173</sup> some of which correspond to references in the *Apologia I*, others which do not. For example, if the church is to be one (Eph. 4:5), all must heed Peter's church and its council, which gathers the many into one, and turn to it for answers in cases of doubt.<sup>174</sup> Peter's see has restored those who have been weak in the faith, just as Christ promised that Peter would strengthen the brethren (Luke 22:32).<sup>175</sup> There should always be one shepherd for the flock, and one teacher, not many teachers (James 3:1).<sup>176</sup> Finally, the question of infallibility is used to support the idea that the papacy must have this role. Christ *must* guarantee the truth of the catholic church if divine judgement upon those who are disobedient (Matt. 18:17) is to be just;<sup>177</sup> and therefore the status of Peter and his successors is necessary, determined by Christ in order to ensure the church does *not* go wrong.<sup>178</sup> There must be one man, one church, one council: the other churches are not irreproachable, but Rome always has been<sup>179</sup>—Rome, where lies Peter's tomb; Rome, established by the teachings of the fathers and imperial laws, her primacy sealed by time and confirmed through her intervention on behalf of the other churches.<sup>180</sup>

In Demetrius' various representations of the papacy, there is a contrast between what might be called a 'secular' version of the papacy and a more 'theological' approach. The first is represented by the rather exaggerated, politically-orientated, triumphalist ideas of the earlier section of the *Apologia I*; the second by the *Apologia III* and the later sections of the discussion in the *Apologia I*. What does this say about Demetrius' priorities in dealing with the papacy: are they primarily theological, or is the political element equally or more important? This clearly has implications for the assertion made earlier in this chapter that Demetrius' attitude to the papacy must be considered in the light of his wider theological approach and understanding of authoritative doctrine. If the 'secular' aspect of the papacy is more important for him than the 'theological', this assertion cannot be maintained.

<sup>173</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 431 f., 10–46.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 12–15. Above, pp. 107 f.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 15–22. Above, p. 106.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, 22–25.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 25–32.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, 32–36.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, 36–46.

<sup>180</sup> ἦν καὶ ὁ τοῦ διδασκάλου τάφος κοσμεῖ, βεβαιοῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν πατέρων δόγματα καὶ οἱ τῶν βασιλέων νόμοι, καὶ ὁ χρόνος τὸ πρωτεῖον ἐπισφραγίζεται, καὶ τὸ πολλάκις... ἐκείνην... τῇ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀποκαλύψει στηριζομένην πρὸς τε τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ ἑαυτὴν ἐπανάγειν τὰς ἄλλας. *Ibid.*, 41–45.

To some extent, this can only be approached subjectively, depending on one's understanding of human nature and motivation. However, the texts themselves, with the clues they give of how Demetrius wanted to be understood, make it possible to answer the question at least on one level; and on this basis, Demetrius does not seem to have preferred the secular approach. First, even before he starts to talk in terms of the greatness of a city—the triumphalist approach—he discounts the idea that this has any true spiritual meaning. Second, the praise of Rome is given not as his own account, but in someone else's words; though he has sympathy for his informant, there is an implication that Demetrius would not express himself in this way. Third, Demetrius presents these passages as a response to preoccupations of his opponents, not as his own preoccupations. All this suggests that Demetrius does not consider these arguments fundamental to his position: he is, if anything, distancing himself from them, although also answering his opponents on their own terms.

The *Apologia III* supports this. Unlike the *Apologia I*, the *Apologia III* is not framed around opponents' arguments. Although it clearly cannot stand apart from the debate, nevertheless its format gives Demetrius greater freedom to use his own preferred approach: to bring out what he thinks are the essential points. In these circumstances, the more secular and political elements of the *Apologia I* disappear. What remains is a simple systematic explanation of the derivation of the papacy's authority, its necessity and its consequences. If this is compared with the *Apologia I*, however, it is noticeable that, although context affects the mode of expression, the theoretical basis is very similar. The importance of monarchy is there; also the Scriptural injunctions to Peter; the transferal of Peter's prerogatives to successive popes; various forms of authoritative witness; the unifying role of the papacy; its unique infallibility in doctrine etc. Where the *Apologia I* seems to differ is where Demetrius is examining specific topics—especially topics which preoccupy his opponents—in depth: papal error, the claims of Constantinople, Rome's supposed loss of the primacy.

What this suggests is that it is the ideas shared between the *Apologia I* and the *Apologia III* are the ideas which are most central to Demetrius' understanding of the papacy. These ideas are overwhelmingly 'theological' rather than 'secular'. It follows that the elements exclusive to the *Apologia I*—the 'triumphalist' version of papal primacy—are rather more peripheral: they can be understood as occasional answers to questions arising in dialogue with opponents, principally shaped by the opponents' own preoccupations.

If this is the case, it becomes clear how closely Demetrius' ideas conform to his wider understanding of authority in doctrine. The papacy is witnessed

to by Scripture, in the appointment of Peter by Christ. It is confirmed by other essential authorities: by councils, by laws, by tradition. Although the fathers are not mentioned specifically in the argument, it is significant that Demetrius says that 'father of fathers' is the fitting title for the pope;<sup>181</sup> the pope can be regarded as a father, part of the witness of the fathers rather than simply witnessed to by them. Moreover, a range of human axioms regarding monarchy, unity, human society etc point to the necessity of papal primacy. The major elements and ideas which ensure doctrinal infallibility are explicitly present in Demetrius' presentation of the papacy. The papacy thus takes its place as part of the overall system.

In another sense, the papacy also stands out within that system, in Demetrius' account. Peter is portrayed as being appointed in the place of Christ, giving his successors a unique claim to be *in loco Christi*, and Demetrius' idea of the importance of monarchy for preserving the unity of the faith makes the papacy essential to the survival of the church: without it, as in Demetrius' portrayal of the Greek church, there is anarchy and the one faith is lost. The papacy therefore has a unique role, representing Christ. However, does this imply any real contrast with Demetrius' idea of what constitutes authority? If one returns to the underlying nature of such authorities, arguably it does not. The various authorities are there to provide doctrinal authority in order to guarantee the infallibility of the faith. For this, they ultimately depend on God, and are inextricably interconnected in supporting the faith. The papacy is in exactly the same situation: although the pope, practically speaking, holds a unique place in the church, ultimately the purpose of the papacy is to guarantee the faith, and its ability to do so derives from Christ himself: in this, it is like all other parts of the system—like all the other authorities.

Placing Demetrius' account of the papacy in this wider perspective is not intended to imply that Demetrius is not preoccupied with the question, nor to minimize the controversial impact of his opinions. What it is intended to illustrate is how the papacy can be seen as part of a larger system, the purpose of which is not principally to emphasise the infallibility of the pope, but the infallibility of the faith/church. The papacy is an easily identifiable, exalted part of the system, but still only one part: its authority is not best regarded, in theological terms, as something individual and separate.<sup>182</sup> While the papacy

<sup>181</sup> καὶ πατέρα πατέρων αὐτὸν εἴ τις καλέσειεν, τὴν αὐτῷ πρέπουσαν ἐπωνυμίαν εὐρηκέναι δοκεῖ. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 375, 93 f.

<sup>182</sup> A useful illustration of this can be found in Demetrius' frequent references not just to the pope, but to the advisors surrounding him (e.g. above, p. 107). This gives an impression not of power vested in an individual as such, but of a much more complex situation: the pope as bishop of Rome, operating within the framework of an efficient and committed institution.

can be seen as an essential part of the system, arguably the same can be said for every other part of the system, insofar as it shares in the divine guarantee: it is not a question of asserting human authority, but of recognizing how divine authority has chosen to express itself.

It should be clear from the discussion above that Demetrius considered it necessary to accept the doctrinal authority of the papacy. Given that Demetrius was also an influential Byzantine, the question which naturally follows from this is how he then regards the Greek church and people. Should his attitude to the papacy be understood as an outright rejection of the Greek church and wholesale acceptance of Latin traditions, or is the situation more nuanced than that?

Some aspects of Demetrius' attitude to the Greek church have already been touched upon above. In the *Apologia I*, the contrast was made between the power and prosperity of the Catholic church and nations and the dire situation of the Greeks, with a servile patriarch surrounded by degenerate advisors, and a desperate, divided population.<sup>183</sup> The present state of the Greeks, moreover, is one of anarchy, with all that follows from rejection of the ideal monarchy of the church.<sup>184</sup> Demetrius' attitude to the Greek church and people is evidently at times expressed negatively, in a way guaranteed to offend and provoke. However, as was pointed out, there is a particular rhetorical point to Demetrius' treatment of the Greek church and people in the *Apologia I*: his purpose is to highlight the contrast between the situation of those aligned with the papacy, who accordingly enjoy the benefits of adherence to the guaranteed catholic faith, and those who refuse to align and accordingly suffer the consequences of separating themselves from the guaranteed catholic faith. The *Apologia I* should not be taken as unqualified rejection of Greek theological traditions or Byzantine society. Criticism of one's own countrymen for specific reasons does not necessarily entail rejection of them and their traditions *per se*.

On the contrary: it is possible, in fact, to read the *Apologia I* as an attempt, on Demetrius' part, to present himself as a loyal Byzantine: to demonstrate that it is possible to be a patriot, devoted to the Byzantine cause, and yet hold the opinions he holds. This, with its implications, will be discussed at greater length later.<sup>185</sup> For the present, it is clear in the *Apologia* that Demetrius tries to present the church in such a way as to render unnecessary an ideological rejection of either side.

<sup>183</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 373 f.; also above, pp. 105f.

<sup>184</sup> Above, p. 110.

<sup>185</sup> See below, pp. 197 ff.

Demetrius does this by insisting on the essential unity of the church.<sup>186</sup> The Byzantines are not natural enemies of the Latins, traditionally opposed to them as the Hellenes were to the barbarians.<sup>187</sup> rather, their origin is as citizens of the one same city, the church, subject to the same laws and the same rulers.<sup>188</sup> The division was a later development, and has the character of an internal, civil dispute, in which both sides want the best for the city, and ideally would recognise this in each other.<sup>189</sup> In these circumstances, as a citizen of this church and member of the common body,<sup>190</sup> Demetrius should not be hated for choosing the party he thinks is right in the debate: his opponents are not justified in regarding him as an enemy of the common good because of this.<sup>191</sup> Demetrius himself has never required total rejection of the Byzantine church as part of acceptance of Rome.<sup>192</sup> Demetrius thus attempts to reconcile acceptance of the papacy with Greek Christian tradition, by placing the theological differences—the existence and importance of which he does not deny—*within* the same framework. He certainly considers acceptance of the papacy, and the catholicity of the church that this—for him—implies, necessary, but this does not necessarily involve rejection of the Greek church, if such conditions are met.

Under current conditions, however, Demetrius evidently does see the Greek church as labouring under doctrinal difficulties. That he explicitly connects it with rejection of the west is suggested by a passage in the *Apologia II*, in which he discusses the nature of heresy.<sup>193</sup> Demetrius' opponents have been comparing him to earlier heretics, on the understanding that earlier heretics were aware that they were angering God, and that Demetrius, like them, is motivated by rivalry/contention (*ἔρις*).<sup>194</sup> Demetrius, however, does not think that the earlier heretics realised that they were angering God, or that they chose *ἔρις* before God. No soul, however corrupt, Demetrius

<sup>186</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 401 f., 39–74.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, 39–43.

<sup>188</sup> *τοῦναντίον μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὡσπερ μιᾶς πόλεως ἄμφω τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὄντες πολῖται, καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις καὶ ἔθεισι χρώμενοι, καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὑπακούοντες.* *Ibid.*, 43 ff.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, 47–55.

<sup>190</sup> ὥστε καὶ με πολῖτην ὄντα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ κοινῆ σώματος μέρος... *Ibid.*, 55 f.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, 55–60.

<sup>192</sup> οὐδὲ φανερώς εἶπον τῶν μὲν παρ' ἡμῶν λεγομένων ἀφεκτέον εἶναι, δεῖν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν παλαιὰν Ῥώμην τρέχειν τοὺς τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰσομένους, ὡς ἂν τις τῆς νέας ταύτης καὶ ἡμετέρας παντελῶς καταγνοῦς. *Ibid.*, 71–74.

<sup>193</sup> Mercati, *Mercati*, p. 407, 18–41.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, 18–24.

argues, could be capable of this.<sup>195</sup> The heretics' fault was not this: rather, their fault was that they set themselves up as superior judges of the truth, choosing not to heed the opinions of the teachers or of the church, thinking that they alone knew the truth and what was pleasing to God.<sup>196</sup> Rejecting the champions of the truth (*ἀληθείας προμάχους*), they fell as the devil did.<sup>197</sup> Their fault was not warring against God, but leading others astray.<sup>198</sup>

Although there is an important distinction between heresy and schism, nevertheless this passage illustrates how Demetrius seems to perceive the Greek church in its current state. Separation from the authorities, from proper order, is the root cause of the disorder in the church, which results from loss or rejection of monarchy. Without monarchy, there is chaos. This can be perceived in the state of Greek secular affairs. Without monarchy in the church, there is chaos in the church, accompanied by a multiplicity of ideas: the unity of the faith is lost. This can be seen in the disorder of the Greek church. Without adherence to the commonly accepted authorities—that is, to the unity of the faith—there is heresy. Although this does not mean that, for Demetrius, the Greek church is heretical *per se*, it does mean that there are no guarantees against descent into heresy. Demetrius sees rejection of the west, of 'catholicity', as the root cause of Greek problems. The discussion below of Demetrius' attitude to the *filioque* and the Palamite doctrine of the energies looks further at how he regards specific questions of heresy in the Greek world.

However, the negative side of Demetrius' attitude to the situation of the Greek church should not, perhaps, be over-stressed. It is too simplistic, in any evaluation of Catholic-Orthodox divisions, to look simply at how each side expresses itself with regard to the other, without taking into account that the reasons for that attitude. Examination of the reasons often draws attention to the other side of the coin: the permanent underlying potential for reconciliation, which, however unworkable in practical terms, nevertheless remains a possibility. If this is true for Catholic-Orthodox relations in general, in Demetrius' case it is yet clearer. Demetrius' almost consistent use, in the

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 24–32.

<sup>196</sup> οὐ τοίνυν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοις...τούτων τι τῆς ἀναισχυντίας ταύτης αἴτιον εἶναι φημι, ἀλλ' ἦν τὸ πᾶσιν ἐκσπόνδους καὶ καταράτους ἐκεῖνους ποιῆσαν, ὅτι μήτε ταῖς τῶν διδασκάλων γνώμαις μήτε ταῖς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ψήφοις ἀκολουθῆναι προείλοντο, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοὺς ὑπερηφάνως κριτὰς τῆς ἀληθείας καθίσαντες, μόνους αὐτοὺς τυγχάνειν αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν τῷ Θεῷ δοκούντων ψήθησαν. *Ibid.*, 32–36.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 36–39.

<sup>198</sup> τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἄντικρυς πρὸς Θεὸν πολεμεῖν ἐλομένων ὑπῆρχεν, ἀλλ' ἦν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ἄλλους ὁμοίους ἀγών. *Ibid.*, 39 f.

*Apologia I*, of the third person plural with regard to the Greeks, even when discussing western ideas and institutions in contrast to the east, emphasises that his opinions are those of someone who is above all a Byzantine, albeit one who recognizes the west as part of Christendom. His disagreement is with those who refuse to do this. He is greatly concerned, in his writings, to convey the foolishness of this, on various levels. For him to then reject the east would be to fall victim to the same error. Therefore, whatever the flaws of the Greek church, they cannot be such as to justify outright rejection.

The practical aspects of this, of course, are far more difficult. Even in speaking of unity, Demetrius effectively admits the virulence of the divisions, when he refers to debate within the church as 'civil war'. Demetrius himself, as will be seen, wages his own war of attrition against one particular Orthodox leader, Philotheos.<sup>199</sup> Unfortunately, Demetrius does not say much about the practical processes by which difficulties between east and west could be set right. It is unclear, for example, whether he would, as a Byzantine, have supported the 'Latinization' of the Greek church; but logically speaking, there is little reason to suggest that he would have thought this necessary. Under normative ecclesiastical conditions, Demetrius was evidently quite willing to concede rights to Constantinople in its own sphere,<sup>200</sup> to regard it as second to Rome,<sup>201</sup> and to support the validity of its synods.<sup>202</sup>

### 3.2.2. The Filioque

In the *Apologia I*, Demetrius quotes his opponents as saying, in time-honoured fashion, that the one thing for which the Latins cannot be forgiven is the *filioque*.<sup>203</sup> Although Demetrius does not agree with this, nevertheless he considers the issue fundamental. It is not, he says, an insignificant doctrine, easily disregarded: error in this matter is perilous, as the vehement condemnations exchanged by the two sides indicate.<sup>204</sup> It is also the root cause of the schism. For this reason, Demetrius concentrated on the

<sup>199</sup> Below, pp. 232–239.

<sup>200</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 376 f.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 378.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 318 f. Also above, pp. 102 f.

<sup>203</sup> «ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἦν τις ἐλπίς καὶ διαλλαγῶν, τὸ δὲ παρὰ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ λέγειν τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορεύεσθαι Πνεῦμα, τοῦτ' ἔστιν...ὁ πάσης αὐτοῦς συγγνώμης ἀποστερεῖ» Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 368, 79 ff.

<sup>204</sup> ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ δόγμα μικρὸν τι καὶ οἷον καλῶς ἔχειν καὶ παροφθῆναι βασανίζων ἀνεύρισκον· τῶν τε γὰρ περὶ τῆς θείας Τριάδος λεγομένων ἦν καὶ αὐτὸ, περὶ ἃ πάντων ἐπικινδυνότατον σφάλεσθαι τῇ τε τῶν περὶ τοῦτ' ἀμφισβητούντων μαρτυρίᾳ ὡς οὐ παροπτέον εἶη μάλιστα ἐβεβαιῶντο, ἀμφότεροι γὰρ τοὺς μὴ συντιθεμένους οἷς αὐτοὶ λέγουεν ταῖς ἀθανάτους παρείδουσιν τιμωρίας. *Ibid.*, p. 369, 4–9.

*filioque* when he decided to study the problems between east and west: all other problems he sees as the result, rather than the cause, of division and conflict; the *filioque* has become, for the Greeks, the most important doctrinal question.<sup>205</sup> Moreover, a 'third way'—an answer different to both Latin and Greek approaches—is not an option: it would undoubtedly cut one off from the body of the church.<sup>206</sup>

Because of the importance of the *filioque*, therefore, Demetrius says that he devoted considerable time to studying the issue. Of Demetrius' writings, the *Apologia I* is the one most concerned with the process of these studies. Although the exact explanations given vary, broadly speaking Demetrius divides the sources for his inquiry into three different bodies of material: the fathers (Greek and Latin), Latin and Greek theological writers of the past five hundred years, and current thinkers, including Demetrius' Greek contemporaries. Scripture, of course, is not disregarded: it is always to be understood as fundamental. But in terms of interpretation of Scripture, and thus formulation of doctrine not specifically stated in Scripture, these are the three groups to which Demetrius turns.

Demetrius refers first to the fathers.<sup>207</sup> He knows, he says, that there has been a long-standing disagreement between Latins and Greeks concerning the doctrine of God, which cannot be resolved except through consideration of the teaching of both sides.<sup>208</sup> This was why Demetrius decided to compare the two sides—specifically, to look at the ancient writers of both sides, rather than the more recent writers, on the grounds that what the ancient authorities agreed on would be the truth.<sup>209</sup> Demetrius then concludes, with regard to the early Greek and Latin fathers, that they essentially agree, and are divided only by language.<sup>210</sup> This he attributes to their sharing

<sup>205</sup> τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῶν ἐγκλημάτων βέλτιον ἡγησάμην παραλιπεῖν, ὅτι μὴδ' ἐκεῖνα διαστάσεως αἴτια τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἤδειν γινόμενα ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ὕστερον τῇ διχονοίᾳ ἀκολουθήσαντα....ἐπὶ τὸ πολυθρόλλητον δὴ τοῦτο καὶ τὰς ἡπείρους διαστήσαν καὶ τῇ οἰκουμένη τὸν ἀδιάλλακτον πόλεμον ἐμφυτευσαν ἐτρόπην. τὸ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ζήτημα λέγω....ὁ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἶ τι ἄλλο τῶν κατὰ τὴν πίστιν ἀναγκαῖον δοκεῖ... *Ibid.*, p. 386, 56–67.

<sup>206</sup> τὸ γὰρ εἰς δύο τούτους τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διηρημένης μηδετέροις συνηγορεῖν ἀλλ' ἐπίσης ἀμφοῖν ἀφροσῆναι φανερὰν ἐνόμιζον αὐθάδειαν εἶναι καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ σώματος χωρισμόν. *Ibid.*, p. 369, (30)0–3.

<sup>207</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 367 f., 43–60.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, 43 ff.

<sup>209</sup> τοῦτω μάλιστα προσεκέμην τοῖς ἐνθάδε τὰ ἐκεῖ παραβάλλον, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν νέων ὅ τι τις λέγοι καταφρονῶν τῶν ἀρχαίων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διδασκάλων εἰχόμεν, τὸ δοκοῦν ἀμφοτέροις τοῦτ' εἶναι τάληθες πεπεισμένος. *Ibid.*, 45–48.

<sup>210</sup> πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμφοτέρων εὐρισκον συμφωνίαν....ἦν ἀμφοῖν ἡ διάνοια μία ταῖς φωναῖς μόναις διαιρουμένη. *Ibid.*, 49–52.

the same Scriptures and being inspired by the same Spirit, transcending physical divisions; the agreement between them shows that God is with both sides, ensuring one account of the truth.<sup>211</sup> This idea of agreement between the fathers—*συμφωνία*—is key to Demetrius' approach to the theological dispute, as well as his understanding of the church as a whole.

When it comes to more recent writers, Demetrius is less irenic.<sup>212</sup> In the narrative of the *Apologia I*, Demetrius' milder opponents persuade Demetrius to study more recent writings, which will, they claim, show him that there are good reasons for rejecting the Latins, and provide him with means to refute them.<sup>213</sup> Demetrius professes himself most willing to comply, providing these writers do not go against the common faith (*ταῖς κοινῇ δόξασιν*) or set the fathers against each other.<sup>214</sup> His opponents assure him he will find them convincing and in agreement with the teachers.<sup>215</sup> So Demetrius sets to work, putting much time and energy into his studies;<sup>216</sup> in the process, it seemed to him that he covered everything written in the previous five hundred years—that is, from the time of the schism.<sup>217</sup> There has, he comments, been something of a fashion for people to write against the Latins.<sup>218</sup>

Demetrius' verdict on these writings is far from positive. This is where he speaks of disparagingly of the Greek approach, as described above.<sup>219</sup> Demetrius concludes that these writings are of no use to him, unless he wants to study slander and aggression: all he has learnt from them is not to bother with such arguments in future.<sup>220</sup> On the other hand, as also described above,<sup>221</sup> Demetrius delivers a highly positive verdict on Latin methodology.

<sup>211</sup> αἴτιον δὲ ἢ τε τῶν θείων λογίων κοινότης...καὶ πρὸ ταύτης τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας Πνεῦμα...παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐδιδάσκοντο, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ συμβαίνοντας ἀλλήλοις καὶ τοὺς λόγους παρείχοντο, καίτοι μὴδὲ πόποτ' ἀλλήλοις συμμίξαντες μὴδὲ βουλευσάμενοι περὶ ὧν ἔμελλον ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἄτε τοσαύτη γῆ καὶ θαλάττη μέση ἀλλήλων εἰργόμενοι ὡς ἐντεῦθεν φανερὸν γίνεσθαι...τὸν πανταχοῦ παρόντα Θεὸν καὶ τούτοις ἀμφοτέροις παρεῖναι καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν γνώμας ἐνοῦντα μίαν ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν ποιεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκφῆρεσθαι ψῆφον. Ibid., 52–60.

<sup>212</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 385 f., 13–56.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 13–22.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., 22–28.

<sup>215</sup> « τὸς τε γὰρ λόγους τῆς ἰσχύος θαναμάση καὶ τῶν διδασκάλων πάντων ὡσπερ ἐν λύρα θαναμαστῆς συμφωνίας ἀκούση » Ibid., 29 f.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., 30–50.

<sup>217</sup> ἕως οὐδὲν παραλιπεῖν ἔδοξα τῶν ἐν πεντακοσίοις σχεδὸν ἔτεσι (τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἢ τῶν ἐθνῶν διάστασις ἔχει) συγγεγραμμένων. Ibid., 50–52.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid., 53–56.

<sup>219</sup> Above, p. 91.

<sup>220</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 388 f., 42–48.

<sup>221</sup> Above, pp. 91 f.

He also gives a more positive account of the general tenor of the Latin approach: they do not try to confuse their opponents with long-winded arguments, but set the truth out clearly and confidently, enabling counter-arguments to be made;<sup>222</sup> they do not descend to bitterness or abuse.<sup>223</sup> Try as he might to defend the Greek standpoint, Demetrius found himself—he relates—repeatedly forced to admit, on the basis of these studies, that the Latin viewpoint was far stronger, far closer to the truth, than the Greek.<sup>224</sup>

But, Demetrius insists, he was not willing to concede so easily. This leads him on to the third set of material: current scholarship.<sup>225</sup> He sought out 'the wisest', to ask their advice.<sup>226</sup> But here he ran into a difficulty: they avoided him even more than they avoided Latins, because he considered their arguments insufficient and demanded better.<sup>227</sup> Finally, Demetrius turned to Nil Kabasilas, a friend, former teacher and eminent scholar.<sup>228</sup> According to Demetrius, Nil also had doubts, favoured syllogistic argument, and respected the Latins, particularly Aquinas; his opposition came only when it became clear that Demetrius was pursuing a confrontational course.<sup>229</sup> Demetrius describes Nil's treatise *On the Holy Spirit* as contradicting Nil's earlier opinions. Moreover, he dismisses it as child's play, recognized as such by its author: well-crafted, but simple to refute, saying nothing new, and suitable only for preaching to the converted.<sup>230</sup> Demetrius concludes that neither the earlier Greek writers nor Nil are able to produce convincing arguments.<sup>231</sup> Demetrius does not consider them sufficiently rooted in authoritative sources, and does not consider the writers sufficiently exalted above their audience to be considered 'the wisest' in any case.<sup>232</sup>

However, although Demetrius' attitude to recent Greek theologians is strongly negative, he does nevertheless make some attempt to present it in a manner suggesting solidarity with the Greeks. This comes through when he

<sup>222</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 389, 62–66.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., 66 ff.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., 68–80.

<sup>225</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 390, 82–p. 394, (110)8.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., 82–85.

<sup>227</sup> οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οὐδὲ προσβλέπειν ἤξιουν, τῶν δὲ Λατίνων πλέον τὴν ἐμὴν συνουσίαν αὐτοῖ τε ἐφυλάττοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρήνον· τούτου δὲ αἴτιον, ὅτι τὰς πρὸς ἐκείνους τούτων ἀντιλογίας οὐ σφόδρα ἐπήνον, δεῖν δὲ ἔλεγον ἄλλας πιθανωτέρας ἐπινοεῖν εἰ μέλλομεν καὶ ὁπωσοῦν ἐκείνους ἐντρέψειν. Ibid., 86–90.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., 91–24. On Nil, see above, pp. 6 f., pp. 47 f.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid., 24–51.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid., 51–88.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., 89–(110)2.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., 2–8. This last point is a reference to the axiom that one should follow the opinion of the wisest: Demetrius will not grant that his opponents can claim such a status.

describes being patriotically unwilling to concede that the Latins' arguments were stronger; but it also comes through even after he has decided that recent Greek writers are inadequate. He does not want to dismiss his countrymen out of hand.<sup>233</sup> He has, he says, never said that they lie, as such.<sup>234</sup> They are angry because Demetrius says their arguments against the Latins lack the strength to convince in the face of Latin arguments,<sup>235</sup> and that one must confront the enemy directly: it is not enough simply to elicit praise at home.<sup>236</sup> Demetrius tries to present his own activities as helping the Greeks: his investigations provide material which makes it possible for them to engage directly with the Latins, and should be welcomed as such.<sup>237</sup>

The *Apologia I* thus emerges as in some ways inconclusive on the question of the *filioque*. Demetrius evidently feels the Latin arguments are stronger, but at the same time he speaks of sympathy with the Greeks cause. The impression given is that the idea of *συμφωνία* between the fathers in this case serves the same purpose as the idea of essential ecclesiastical unity does in the more general question of division: it enables Demetrius to present himself as a genuine seeker after truth, without taking one side in such a way that he has to reject the other.

A similar discussion of the question can be found in the *Apologia II*.<sup>238</sup> Here, Demetrius again describes consulting both common authoritative teachers and more recent scholars, Greek and Latin. The Greek scholars he found unconvincing and inclined to be dictatorial and unbending, while the Latins were far more convincing and persuasive.<sup>239</sup> Moreover, compared with the ancient teachers—who themselves are in complete agreement—the Greek version appeared suspect, while the Latin version corresponded to the ancients.<sup>240</sup> Demetrius suggests a reason for the Greeks' failings: they result not from ignorance, as some might suggest, but from an idleness in which divine concerns have been neglected, the only requirement being to inveigh against opponents.<sup>241</sup>

<sup>233</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 395 f., 26–63.

<sup>234</sup> *καίτοι ἔγωγε οὐδὲ σαφῶς οὕτωςι ψεύδεσθαι τούτους εἶπόν ποτε*. Ibid., 26.

<sup>235</sup> *ὅτι μὴ μεγάλην ἀνάγκην τοὺς κατὰ Λατίνων αὐτῶν λόγους ἔχειν φημί, οὐδ' οἴους τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔλεῖν καὶ βιάσασθαι*. Ibid., 29 f.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., 31–37.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid., 37–63.

<sup>238</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 419 ff., 23–79.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., 47–63.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid., 63–75.

<sup>241</sup> *ἄλλος μὲν ἄγνοιαν ἂν κατηγορήσεν, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ γκλήμα τούτων ἀργίαν εἶναι φημι, διὴν ἄλλοις πρὸ τῶν θείων θεωρημάτων σχολάζοντες ἐπὶ τούτων πρὸς τοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντας μόνον ἀναγκάζονται ῥαψωδεῖν*. Ibid., 76 ff.

In the *Apologia III*, Demetrius approaches the question from a more abstract or theological angle, giving a brief explanation of his position.<sup>242</sup> Comparison of early Greek and Latin fathers has brought him to see a remarkable agreement (*συμφωνία*, again) between them, providing there is no wish to be contentious or to quibble over words.<sup>243</sup> He points out that the 'Italian' teaching *παρὰ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ* clearly understands the procession to be as from one source and by one procession and that any other understanding is unacceptable.<sup>244</sup> The Greeks, on the other hand, say the same thing in different words: when they say that the Spirit is from the Father through the Son (*ἐκ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ*) it is accompanied by a number of clarifications which indicate a relationship of causation between the Son and the Spirit which enables them to say also that the Spirit is *ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ* and indeed derives its being from the Son (*καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἔχει τὸ εἶναι*), as well as expressing this idea in a number of other ways.<sup>245</sup> It is contention alone that makes a division between the one side saying *ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι*, while the other says *ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ εἶναι*; however, Demetrius also suggests that the latter expression is preferable, since it is clearer and less open to sophistic quibbles than the former.<sup>246</sup>

A little further on in the *Apologia III*, Demetrius puts his belief in the Latin version of the *filioque* firmly within a context of papal authority.<sup>247</sup> The teachings of the fathers and their agreement (*συμφωνία*) on the procession of the Spirit, and the mother of the churches (i.e., Rome) with the authority that accrues to her, Demetrius cites as authorities from which one must not depart.<sup>248</sup> In accordance with the pope's teaching, Demetrius believes that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son as from one cause and by one and the same procession.<sup>249</sup> This, he declares, is immovable: it has never been condemned, but has been handed down by the universal, chief and oldest of

<sup>242</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 429 f., 27–58.

<sup>243</sup> *οὕτω δὴ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοὺς ἀνδρας παρατιθεῖς καὶ τὰς ἐκατέρωθεν δόξας ἐπισκοπῶν πολλὴν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως εὐρισκόν ἀμφοῖν συμφωνίαν, εἴ τις ἐρίζειν οὐκ ἐβούλετο μηδὲ τῆ τῶν λέξεων μικρολογία τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπιτρέπειν*. Ibid., 27–30.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid., 30–35. One of the Greek arguments against the *filioque* was that it implied two causes, which would be wholly unacceptable. Demetrius is pointing out the inaccuracy of this charge.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid., 35–45.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid., 45–52.

<sup>247</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 433, 51–69.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid., 51–57.

<sup>249</sup> *ὃ (sc. the pope) τοὺς ἑμαντοῦ λογιμοὺς ὑποτάττων πιστεύω διδάσκοντι ὡς ἐκπορεύοιτο παρὰ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ ὡς παρὰ μᾶς ἀρχῆς καὶ μιᾶ καὶ τῆ αὐτῆ ἐκπορεύσει τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα*. Ibid., 57–60.

the churches; and Demetrius thinks it a surer course to align himself with the many holy fathers and teachers, eastern and western, than to go against them, which would be culpable.<sup>250</sup>

In summary, it can be said that Demetrius' way of dealing with the *filioque* is directly stated and controversial—more so, perhaps, in the later apologies than in the *Apologia I*—but at the same time not over-confrontational. It is clear that he accepts the Latin doctrine of the *filioque*, and does not accept the Greek attacks on it. He attacks polemicists, criticizing their attitude and their intellectual capacity. He connects the issue with acceptance of the authority of the papacy. Both his tone and the points he makes would be objectionable to his opponents. However, his criticisms are not unrestrained, and provide some meeting ground with Greek theologians. His insistence on the parity of Greek and Latin fathers, and their fundamental agreement, gives a potential basis of concord to his arguments. When he attacks Greek polemicists, he does not apparently accuse them directly of error or heresy: he accuses them instead of less fundamental failings such as intellectual inadequacy, aggression, illogicality, idleness, etc. Although these are harsh, they do not imply the outright rejection that is implied in the hard-line Greek rejection of the Latin position as heretical.

### 3.2.3. Palamas

On the subject of the *filioque*, Demetrius was evidently willing to take the Greek approach seriously, and to devote considerable attention to the question. For the Palamite doctrine of the energies, by contrast, he had—he tells us—little time. This is expressed in the *Apologia III*.<sup>251</sup> Palamas' doctrine, he says, is the invention of a man who has applied himself to theology in a most uneducated and reckless manner, a man unable to go beyond what applies to creatures (i.e. the material realm) and his own 'phantasms'; his doctrine wholly destroys the most important, most commonly held concepts of God.<sup>252</sup> There is, according to Demetrius, little need to argue the case against it: it is immediately clear to all that the doctrine is both foolish and inconsistent.<sup>253</sup>

<sup>250</sup> Ibid., 60–69.

<sup>251</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 433, 70–p. 435, 14.

<sup>252</sup> τὸ δὲ τοῦ Παλαμᾶ δόγμα... εὐρημα... ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς ἀμαθῶς πάνυ καὶ ἰταμῶς τῇ θεολογίᾳ προσενηχθέντος καὶ τῶν τοῖς κτίσμασι συμβαινόντων ἢ τῶν οἰκειῶν αὐτοῦ φαντασμάτων προελθεῖν περαιτέρω μὴ δυνηθέντος, καὶ ἅμα τὰς σεμνοτάτας περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ κοινοτάτας ἐννοίας παντελῶς ἀναίρουσντος. Ibid., 70–75.

<sup>253</sup> μὴδὲ πολλῶν λόγων δεῖν τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐλέγχειν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐπιχειροῦντι κατάδηλον πᾶσι τὸ τῆς δόξης ἀνόητον καὶ ἀσύστατον γίνεσθαι. Ibid., 75 ff.

However, although he does not devote much space to the question, Demetrius does, in the same passage, explain the basis of his own position, and give a fair indication of the line taken in his criticisms of Palamite doctrine. Put simply, he insists on divine simplicity, as propounded by Aquinas. He cannot allow that God's *ousia* is one thing and that its attributes—goodness, power, life etc—are something different.<sup>254</sup> This would imply a graded scale within the godhead, in which the *ousia* is the summit and the other things less in perfection and being, and therefore also in goodness.<sup>255</sup> In this scheme, divine simplicity is lost, and God is seen as composite, made up of distinct parts: if each part is divine, then it is difficult to distinguish the one God from 'Hellenic mythology' (i.e. polytheism); but if not all parts are divine, God is made to be a sort of hybrid monster, part divine, part creature.<sup>256</sup> This, for Demetrius, is wholly wrong. Everything attributed to God is God: everything attributed to God is God's *ousia*. The divine monad is one in itself and undivided: the distinctions are only there in the words which we use to describe God, because *our* division and plurality cannot encompass divine unity.<sup>257</sup>

Demetrius ends this section by setting out two principles from the core belief of the church to support his case. First, to subscribe to a theology of multiple parts is to be guilty of unlawfully dividing God, when it is a tenet of Christianity that God's oneness, simplicity and undivided nature *must* be professed in every case except when the doctrine of the Trinity intervenes: God is proclaimed to be one except as regards the Trinity of persons.<sup>258</sup> Secondly, the idea is not part of traditional Christianity: none of the saints held such a theology, so Demetrius sees no reason to follow it.<sup>259</sup>

This passage makes it clear that, for Demetrius, Palamas' doctrine was wrong because it went against the essential core of the Christian doctrine of God. This is not the place to debate whether Palamas' doctrine of the divine

<sup>254</sup> τίς γὰρ ἂν νοῦν ἔχων ἀνάσχοιτο τῶν τοῦ ἐνός Θεοῦ ἄλλο μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν εἶναι λέγοντων, ἄλλο δὲ τὴν ἀγαθότητα καὶ δύναμιν καὶ ζωὴν καὶ σοφίαν καὶ τᾶλλα... Ibid., 77 ff.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid., 80–91.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid., 91–97.

<sup>257</sup> τῆς θείας μονάδος μᾶς μὲν οὔσης πάντη καθ' ἑαυτὴν καὶ ἀδιαίρετου, πολλοῖς δὲ λόγοις καὶ ὀνόμασιν ὑφ' ἡμῶν νοουμένης καὶ λεγομένης, οὐ δυναμένου τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν μερισμοῦ καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῆς θείας ἐνάδι καὶ ἀμερεῖα παρεξισοῦσθαι. Ibid., 3–6.

<sup>258</sup> ἄλλως γὰρ ἀθέσμως διαίρησει τὴν ὑπερῆνωμένην ἐνάδα ὁ τῆς πολυμερεῖ ταύτης θεολογία προσκειμένος καὶ τὸν Θεὸν εἰς ἄπειρα κατακερματίζων καὶ συντιθεῖς, ᾧ διὰ πάντων τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ ἄπλοῦν καὶ τὸ ἀμερὲς φυλακτέον ὅπου μὴ ἢ τῆς θείας Τριάδος ὁμολογία τὴν μονάδα κωλύει τὸν γὰρ Θεὸν ὡςπερ μονάδα ἀληθῆ, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τριάδα ὁμοίαν ὁμολογοῦμεν, τὸ παρὰ τὴν τριάδα τῶν προσώπων πᾶν μονάδα ὁμολογοῦντες. Ibid., 6–11.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid., 13 f.

energies is or is not compatible with the doctrine of divine simplicity, or to what extent Demetrius' representation of Palamas is a misrepresentation and a misunderstanding of Palamas' thought. It is enough here to say that Demetrius considered Palamism directly contradictory of the doctrine of divine simplicity, and therefore inadmissible. Demetrius represents his own position as strict monotheism, competing against an ill-thought-out incipient polytheism. This is particularly clear in the *Apologia IV*. Here, Demetrius repeatedly charges his opponent, Philotheos, with polytheism. He speaks of Philotheos propagating Hellenic myth amongst Christians.<sup>260</sup> He alludes to 'demi-gods' to which Philotheos 'sacrifices'.<sup>261</sup> Later, Demetrius says that Philotheos saw his 'chain of godheads' being 'dissolved by the truth'<sup>262</sup> of Prochoros' arguments.

By contrast, Prochoros is represented as remaining true to ancient doctrine as against the 'innovation' of Palamas.<sup>263</sup> Demetrius emphasizes this when he gives his version of the charges against Prochoros, in the form of a verdict supposedly delivered by Prochoros' accusers.<sup>264</sup> Prochoros is found guilty, he says, of thinking there is one divinity, and persuading others to believe the same.<sup>265</sup> Prochoros is charged with mocking the *ὑφειμένη θεότητα*:<sup>266</sup> but Demetrius presents this as itself a matter of ridicule, an aspect of Palamite theology which is thoroughly risible.<sup>267</sup> Prochoros instead asserts the unity of God: God does not have separate attributes, but what God has and what he is are the same thing, the difference being only in our discourse.<sup>268</sup> Finally, Prochoros is 'charged' with rejecting Palamas: Prochoros considers Palamas the father and initiator of the doctrines Prochoros rejects, and as such Palamas should be called to account for leading others into evil.<sup>269</sup>

<sup>260</sup> ἀλλ' ὅμως ἠναισχύντεις, ἐν μέσοις τε Χριστιανοῖς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἠνάγκαζες, τὸν μὲν ἕνα Θεὸν ἐξομῶσασθαι παραινῶν, τῇ δ' Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ὀρφείως ἀποπωτέρα θεογονία συνθέσθαι. Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 327 f., 95–98.

<sup>261</sup> τοῖς ἡμυθεοῖς τούτοις...οἷς αὐτὸς μὲν θύεις. Ibid., p. 317, 48 f.

<sup>262</sup> καὶ τὸν ὀρμαθὸν ἐκείνου τῶν θεοτήτων κατενόεις ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας λυόμενον. Ibid., p. 324, 92 f.

<sup>263</sup> ἀδικεῖν τε ἔλεγον τὴν νέαν καινοτομίαν μὴ προσιέμενον, ἀλλ' αἰετὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐστῶτα. Ibid., p. 319, 15 f.

<sup>264</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 327, 76–95.

<sup>265</sup> «Τοῦτον εὐρομεν...μίαν μόνην θεότητα αὐτόν τε νομίζοντα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας πείθοντα...» Ibid., 78 f.

<sup>266</sup> C.f. Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, pp. 218 f.

<sup>267</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 327, 79–84.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid., 84–90.

<sup>269</sup> πάντων δὲ πατέρα τούτων καὶ μυσταγωγὸν κηρυττόντων, αὐτὸς δὲ δίκας ὀφείλειν ἐκείνόν φησιν ὡς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμῶν πονηρᾶς δόξης ἐγένετο. Ibid., 92 ff.

This passage also makes it clear that Demetrius is sceptical of hesychast claims to vision of God: in mocking the *ὑφειμένη θεότητα*, he speaks of it as something which many claim to have seen, of which previous generations strangely were unaware, but the present generation has nevertheless discovered.<sup>270</sup> Given that Demetrius refused to accept Palamite doctrine in its description of divinity, it is hardly surprising that he refused to accept its ideas of the divine vision. The hesychast vision of God is, for him, fundamentally erroneous, because it posits a differentiation in the godhead; a 'higher' transcendent entity—in which there can be no human participation—and a 'lower' entity which is involved in the material world and thereby can be 'seen'. Since Demetrius opposes this, it is natural that he has no truck with the 'vision' involved.

Other than these fundamental theological objections, there are also more practical aspects to Demetrius' attitude towards the Palamite/hesychast question. Some of these will be discussed later in this book, particularly those relating to Demetrius' political survival and to the nature, strength and development of hesychasm. Strictly speaking, however, these considerations do not belong in a discussion of Demetrius' theological attitude to Palamite doctrine, particularly since there are inherent difficulties in directly equating 'Palamism' with 'hesychasm'. However, at this point two areas for consideration can be highlighted.

One is that there is certainly a group or an approach to theology within the Byzantine church that Demetrius greatly dislikes. At times he speaks disparagingly specifically of hesychasts. For example, in the *Apologia IV* he describes hesychasts as 'asses listening to the lyre' with respect to understanding doctrine.<sup>271</sup> Later in the *Apologia IV* he refers with contempt to Philotheos' preoccupation with the 'omphalos'<sup>272</sup>—a preoccupation also attributed to Philotheos' supporters<sup>273</sup>—echoing in this the disparaging description of hesychasts as 'navel-gazers' which developed amongst opponents. Disparaging descriptions are also found elsewhere, which can be taken as criticisms of hesychasm: in one letter, for example, Demetrius refers to 'beards in the palace', for whom total ignorance is a sign of virtue.<sup>274</sup>

<sup>270</sup> τῆς δὲ λοιπῆς ἐκείνης καὶ ὑφειμένης (sc. θεότητος) καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς σωματικοῖς—ὡ τοῦ θαύματος—πολλάκις γινομένης ληπτῆς, ἧς οἱ μὲν πρὸ ἡμῶν οὐκ οἰδ' ὅπως ἠμέλησαν, ἡμῖν δ' ἐξευροῦσαν εὖ ποιῶσιν ἐμέλησεν... Ibid., 79–82.

<sup>271</sup> οἱ δὴ σινασσοῦνται προσθήκη τις ἦσαν αὔξοντες τὴν κατηγορίαν, οὗς μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἔφην «ὄνος πρὸς λύραν» δογμάτων γε ἕνεκα. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 321, 84 f.

<sup>272</sup> ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ὅλος ὀμφαλὸς ἐστι... Ibid., p. 328, 16.

<sup>273</sup> οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν ὀμφαλήν, εὐξόμενοι Ibid., p. 326, 36.

<sup>274</sup> See below, p. 163, with note 152.



But these, and similar, comments, are not unambiguous. The objects of Demetrius' comments are often unclear, and at other times only too precise, making generalizations unreliable. Above all, to see in all such comments a specifically anti-hesychast programme would be to suggest that hesychasts constituted a clearly identifiable group, with a clearly identifiable programme. This, as will be seen below, is problematic.<sup>275</sup>

Secondly, Demetrius also evidently recognises that there is a body of strong opposition to his ideas, and that that opposition is related to his rejection of Palamas. This is clear in the *Oration to John Palaiologos*. In the *Oration*, Demetrius is writing in a situation in which he has fallen from imperial favour and feels himself to be very much under suspicion and attack. In this, he identifies as the cause of much opposition the fact that he has not adhered to Palamas' doctrines.<sup>276</sup> Demetrius does not seem to suggest that John V was himself in agreement with this opposition, but that there were considerable forces acting against him within court circles which might succeed in persuading John V.

What emerges from this brief discussion of Demetrius' approach to Palamism is that here, as elsewhere, he is direct in his opinions. His concern for divine simplicity made him oppose all suggestions of division and differentiation within the godhead, which he understood Palamite doctrine to imply. He did not hesitate to attack such ideas, and indeed ridiculed them. He considered this a doctrinal error of completely different proportions to the *filioque*: the *filioque* was a difficulty arising from different ways of expressing a doctrine agreed upon by the ancient authorities, while the doctrine of the energies constituted a heresy against the most fundamental core of Christian doctrine. Demetrius' writings also clearly indicate a strong sense of opposition to and opposition from certain groups, and that there is a correlation between this and the development of a conscious 'hesychast' movement specifically identified with Palamism; but while this must be taken very seriously, it is also important not to jump to conclusions about the exact scope and impact of this on his career and place in Byzantine society.

### SECTION THREE

#### HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND IMPLICATIONS

<sup>275</sup> See esp. pp. 221–228, pp. 250–258.

<sup>276</sup> Loenertz, R.-J., *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, SeT 186 (Vatican City, 1956) pp. 18f., paras 17–18.

## INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters have sought to give an introduction to Demetrius' background, interests and opinions, in straightforward terms, without discussing at length the implications of the issues raised. The intention in this final section is to discuss what Demetrius' ideological stance, when viewed alongside his career, might suggest about developments in Byzantine society.

In order to do this, the first step that must be taken is to establish that there are sound reasons for seeing Demetrius' ideological stance as part of his public persona, familiar to his contemporaries. If Demetrius' opinions were largely unpublicised, it would be unnecessary to read his public career in terms of his intellectual stance. However, if Demetrius' ideas were well known, this would suggest that his ideas are of wider significance for the developments of the period, since this would make his intellectual stance of direct relevance to the progress of his career. Chapter 4 will therefore discuss how, and to what extent, the ideas found in Demetrius' writings may have been publicised.

Given that, as will be seen, it is possible to view many of Demetrius' ideas, particularly his stance vis-à-vis the west, as thoroughly part of his public persona, Chapter 5 will then go on to discuss what light Demetrius' stance might shed on some of the key issues relating to the period. In order to do so, it will first outline the relationship between Byzantium and the west in the period, then discuss Demetrius' own role in events. In doing so, it will draw out some of the implications Demetrius' involvement may have for interpreting the historical developments. Finally, it will tentatively approach the difficult question of how credible Demetrius' ideas might have appeared more generally, given the historical and political conditions.

The final chapter, Chapter 6, is designed as a postscript to—and justification of—Chapter 5. Chapter 5 argues that Demetrius' ideas, although somewhat extreme in some respects, in many respects fall within a spectrum of credible responses to the historical conditions, and as such can be seen as relatively mainstream to Byzantine developments. This conflicts with the idea that the extent of underlying hostility to the west in Byzantium was such that ideas like those of Demetrius must be seen as counter-cultural and marginal to popular trends. Chapter 6 argues that this is an inadequate reading of the

situation: that it is probably better to envisage the 1350s and the 1360s as a complex period in which rapid change led to political and religious fragmentation, and in which a 'united Orthodox front' cannot be identified. In doing so, Chapter 6 looks at both internal Byzantine church affairs and external developments, as well as demonstrating that doctrinal Orthodoxy was by no means incompatible with some degree of rapprochement with the west.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE EXTENT OF 'PUBLICITY'

#### 4.1. CHANNELS FOR CIRCULATION

The intention in this chapter is to consider the extent to which the ideas found in Demetrius' writings can be said to have belonged to the public domain—to have been 'publicised'—and therefore to have direct bearing on understanding his public career. The first part of this chapter will discuss various factors which might throw light on this: the manuscripts, indications taken from Demetrius' writings themselves, and external indications. The subsequent sections of the chapter will then consider what light the results of this discussion shed on the 'publicising' of the main areas of Demetrius' thought highlighted in Section II.

##### 4.1.1. *The Manuscript Evidence*

As with Demetrius' translations, so too with his own writings: a full study of the manuscripts is beyond the scope of this study, and it must instead rely on the rather variable secondary information available. However, although the information available is inadequate in some respects, it does enable certain areas of interest to be highlighted.

The information available is most extensive in the case of the letters. In the course of his work on the letter corpus, Loenertz published detailed discussion of the manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> His conclusion was that the letters were preserved principally through Demetrius' own efforts to prepare them for publication, and he identified two main phases of editorial activity: one c. 1373/4, another in the 1390s.<sup>2</sup> These conclusions are somewhat disappointing with regard to their potential to answer questions relating to contemporary circulation, since they place the editorial activity outside the timeframe under consideration here and in the hands of the writer, not the recipients. The manuscripts are thus more able to answer questions relating

<sup>1</sup> Loenertz, R.-J., *Les recueils de lettres de Démétrius Cydonès*, SeT 131 (Vatican City, 1947); also *idem*, *Demetrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, I, III–XVI.

<sup>2</sup> Loenertz, *Les recueils de lettres de Démétrius Cydonès*, pp. 81 f.

to contemporary understanding of literary letter-writing and collections, rather than to the circulation of ideas contained therein.<sup>3</sup>

Demetrius' speeches have not received the same degree of editorial attention. The three 'imperial orations'<sup>4</sup> have, it is true, been edited relatively recently, but without much comment on the manuscripts, while the remaining texts are still dependent on the editions reproduced in the *Patrologia Graeca* (PG). The information available,<sup>5</sup> however, does convey certain points. The five manuscripts of relevance to the speeches (Laur. 59, 24,<sup>6</sup> Paris. gr. 1213,<sup>7</sup> Coislin. gr. 315,<sup>8</sup> Burney 75<sup>9</sup> and Vat. gr. 486)<sup>10</sup> all date to the 1390s or later.<sup>11</sup> None apparently have autograph elements, so there is no demonstrable editorial link with Demetrius himself.<sup>12</sup> The works appear in different combinations in different manuscripts, rather than as an established corpus.<sup>13</sup> These details allow some tentative suggestions to be made. The delay between composition and the known copies requires there to have been intermediary manuscripts. Although without detailed study of the manuscripts their exact relationship is unclear, it is probable, given the variation in order and number of the texts, and the lack of evidence of a direct connection with Demetrius, that there were various channels of transmis-

<sup>3</sup> On letter collections in the period, see Tinnefeld, F., 'Zur Entstehung von Briefsammlungen in der Palaiologenzeit', in Scholz, C. and Makris, G. (eds.), *Polypleuros nous: Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag* (K.G. Saur, Munich, 2000), pp. 365–381.

<sup>4</sup> The term is used here only to indicate that they are addressed to emperors: as has been seen, they vary in style, with only the *Second Oration to John Kantakuzenos* conforming to some degree to encomiastic models.

<sup>5</sup> Principally following indications and references in Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol. I, I*, pp. 64f., section 1.3.

<sup>6</sup> Bandini, A.M., *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Laurentianae, Vol. 3* (Typis Caesareis, Florence, 1768), cols. 541 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Omont, H., *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale, Vol. 1* (Paris, 1886), pp. 266 f.

<sup>8</sup> Devreesse, R., *Le fonds Coislin* (Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1945), pp. 302–305.

<sup>9</sup> *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the British Museum. New Series. Vol. 1: Arundel-Burney*, 1840, pp. 25–34.

<sup>10</sup> Devreesse, R., *Codices Vaticanici Graeci, tom. 2: Codices 330–603* (Bibliotheca Vaticana, Vatican City, 1937), pp. 298 f.

<sup>11</sup> Coislin. gr. 315 is a 17th century copy of the 15th century Paris. gr. 1213. Burney. 75 is also 15th century (Loenertz, 1947, 28, 23). Laur. 59, 24 (Loenertz, *Les recueils de lettres de Démétrius Cydonès*, pp. 73–75) and Vat. gr. 486 can both be connected with the 1390s.

<sup>12</sup> Although Vat. gr. 486 has a link with Kalekas, which makes a direct connection possible, but even so this would only apply to the *Monody*, the *First Oration to Kantakuzenos* and the *Pro subsidio*.

<sup>13</sup> Only one (Laur. 59, 24) contains all 6 speeches; in the other manuscripts, the texts appear in different orders and combinations.

sion: that Demetrius' speeches were circulating in different forms, independently, prior to the 1390s. The extent of such circulation is, of course, impossible to determine.

The manuscript information available is different again in the case of the apologias. All four apologias appear in fourteenth-century manuscripts. *Apologias I* and *III* are in autograph versions in Vat. gr. 1102, and *Apologia II*, also in autograph, in Vat. gr. 1879.<sup>14</sup> The *Apologia IV* is in Vat. gr. 678, not in autograph, with other material directed against Philotheos Kokkinos.<sup>15</sup> All three manuscripts are complex, but even this minimal information demonstrates a contrast between the evidence for the apologias and the evidence for the letters and speeches. There seems to be a sharp distinction between 'secular' and 'theological' material, with the apologias only appearing in a strictly theological context. This makes it possible that different types of material circulated in different circles. Moreover, only one copy survives of each of the apologias, and in the case of *Apologias I–III*, this is even limited to autograph copies, thus giving no support for speculation about further circulation.<sup>16</sup> The *Apologia IV*, however, belongs to a different category: the copy was evidently produced near the date of composition, and there is also evidence of its passing through different hands.<sup>17</sup>

The manuscript evidence for the *De contemnenda morte* is in some respects similar to the evidence for the six speeches. It appears in Paris. gr. 1213, Coislin. 315, Laur. 59, 24, and in fragmentary form in Vat. gr. 486, although not in Burney 75. This suggests that, with respect to early circulation, similar considerations apply to the *De contemnenda* as to the

<sup>14</sup> Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol. I, I*, p. 74. Vat. gr. 1102 is a 14th century compilation of original (exclusively theological) writings and translations by Demetrius and Prochoros, some of which fragmentary. Vat. gr. 1879 is a collection of (almost exclusively theological) writings of Manuel Kalekas and Demetrius.

<sup>15</sup> Devreesse, R., *Codices Vaticanici Graeci, tom. 3: Codices 604–866* (Bibliotheca Vaticana, Vatican City, 1950), pp. 132–135.

<sup>16</sup> This does, of course, raise difficulties: if the only manuscript known is autograph, does this not suggest it was not widely known, and its contents not widely circulated? This is, of course, possible. However, as will be seen, the kind of 'publicity' argued for in this discussion does not require there to have been multiplication of manuscripts, circulation of individual texts in their entirety, or even appreciation of the full context of Demetrius' arguments. All that is being argued for is a probable general association of Demetrius with certain key ideas, and this can be conceived of in more flexible terms. Demetrius' texts themselves support such speculation, when they speak in terms of open discussion of controversial ideas (e.g. below, p. 143 f.).

<sup>17</sup> According to Loenertz, this manuscript was in the hands of an anonymous antipalomite by at least 1380 (Loenertz, *Demetrios Cydones, Correspondance, I, VIII*), while Mercati says it also belonged to John Chortasmenos (Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 285 f.).

speeches.<sup>18</sup> However, in the case of the *De contemnenda* there is also the evidence provided by L1<sup>19</sup> (1371/2), which indicates that Demetrius himself circulated the text.

The prooimia have been recently edited by Tinnfeld.<sup>20</sup> Like the letters, they appear in different combinations in Paris. gr. 1213 (Prooimia 1 and 3; also in the Coislin copy) and Burney 75 (3 & 4); no. 4 is also found in Vat. gr. 1877 (which belonged to John Chortasmenos) and Vat. gr. 1879 (in the hand of Kalekas). An earlier edition of Prooimia 1–3 was based on a manuscript which has since disappeared.<sup>21</sup> The manuscript evidence for the prooimia thus follows similar patterns to the evidence for the speeches, but with the additional factor that no. 4 is the only secular text found in the ‘theological’ manuscripts.

This discussion of the manuscripts is in many ways unsatisfactory. It does not go beyond a very basic discussion of the parameters involved, and it fails to produce much evidence directly relevant to the circulation of Demetrius’ writings and ideas in the specific period under study. However, such evidence was scarcely to be expected. A discussion of this nature can only hope to provide a basic minimum of information, which in most cases has more to do with what the manuscripts *cannot* demonstrate than what they can; beyond that, alternative sources of information, and intelligent speculation, must be relied upon.

#### 4.1.2. Further Evidence of Circulation

Fortunately, the question can indeed be addressed also using rather different evidence. The texts themselves can provide useful indications regarding the circulation of both the letters *and* the other writings.

The letters, given their genre, are the obvious starting point in this discussion. Although in terms of content only those letters dating to the period of this study are, strictly speaking, of immediate relevance, nevertheless when it comes to general questions regarding letter circulation, the entire corpus can usefully be drawn upon.

<sup>18</sup> The *De contemnenda*, however, also enjoyed later popularity, appearing in later manuscripts and eventually in printed editions, the first of which in 1553. For details, see Deckelmann, *Demetrii Cydonii De Contemnenda Morte*; also Tinnfeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol II*, p. 64, 1.1.5.

<sup>19</sup> See above, p. 46, note 34.

<sup>20</sup> Tinnfeld, ‘Vier Prooimien’.

<sup>21</sup> Tinnfeld, ‘Vier Prooimien’, p. 18 (no. 5).

At the most basic level, the range of addressees found in Demetrius’ letters provides a ‘minimum range’ of his letters.<sup>22</sup> For the letters of the period under study,<sup>23</sup> around ninety have named addressees, giving just under thirty-five named individuals. Of these, five are imperial: John and Manuel Kantakuzenos, John V, Helena Kantakuzena, and Manuel II. There are also important Orthodox figures: Isidore Boucheiras, Philotheos Kokkinos, Nil and Nicholas Kabasilas.<sup>24</sup> There are monks: Demetrius’ brother Prochoros, Maximos Kalopheros, Galaktion, Joasaph. There is a variety of officials, some high ranking,<sup>25</sup> often addressed in terms suggesting close personal acquaintance. There are others to whom Demetrius is particularly close (e.g. George the Philosopher,<sup>26</sup> John Laskaris Kalopheros<sup>27</sup>), or with whom he has particular business (e.g. Simon Atumanos<sup>28</sup>). Even in the case of unnamed recipients, there are often indications as to their situation: imperial secretaries, people with influence at court, monks, anti-Palamites, scholars. Demetrius’ correspondence may well have originally extended far further;<sup>29</sup> but even the known material makes for an extensive and diverse ‘minimum range’ of circulation.

Beyond this, a second level can apply to some letters, taking them beyond the recipient to a more public sphere. The term *θέατρον* sometimes appears in the letters, providing a context in which they could be read before an audience.<sup>30</sup> At other times the term is not used, but the context is described.

<sup>22</sup> Although *some* letters may not have reached their recipients. E.g. in letters L124 and L125, to Nicholas Kabasilas, L125 is apparently a replacement for L124, which went astray.

<sup>23</sup> As identified by Tinnfeld: see above, p. 42.

<sup>24</sup> On these, see above, pp. 7 f.

<sup>25</sup> E.g. Demetrius Palaiologos (PLP 21455), *megas domestikos* from 1357–1375; Andonikos Oinaioites (PLP 21024) and Demetrius Angelos Manikaites (PLP 16635), both with the rank of *καθολικός κριτής*; Leo Kalothetos (PLP 10617), who became *panhypersebastos*; Demetrius Phakras (PLP 29576), *megas primikerios*; George Synadenos Astras (PLP 1598), governor of various localities and *megas stratopedarches*; George Perdikes (PLP 22438), who held a range of ecclesiastical positions.

<sup>26</sup> Probably a relation. On their correspondence, see Tinnfeld, F., ‘Georgios Philosophos. Ein Korrespondent und Freund des Demetrius Kydones’, *OCP* 38 (1972), pp. 141–171.

<sup>27</sup> See Eszer, A.K., *Das abenteuerliche Leben des Johannes Laskaris Kalopheros: Forschungen zur Geschichte der ost-westlichen Beziehungen im 14. Jahrhundert* (O. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1969).

<sup>28</sup> PLP 1648. See also Fedalto, G., *Simone Atumano: Monaco di Studio, Archivescovo latino di Tebe, Secolo XIV* (Paideia, Brescia, 1968).

<sup>29</sup> E.g. Tinnfeld’s reconstruction of Demetrius’ correspondence with Rhadenos in the 1370s and 80s, which includes letters which have not survived. Tinnfeld, F., ‘Freundschaft und ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ. Die Korrespondenz des Demetrius Kydones mit Rhadenos (1375–1387/8)’, *Byz.* 55 (1985), pp. 210–244, esp. pp. 236–244.

<sup>30</sup> See references in Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, II*, p. 480.

In L12 (to Kantakuzenos, c. 1343), Demetrius refers to all those with whom he shared his admiration for Kantakuzenos' letter.<sup>31</sup> In L40 (some time between 1347–1354), Demetrius tells an unnamed friend that the entire *θέατρον* was greatly impressed by his recent letter, including the emperor, who insisted that Demetrius read the letter to him repeatedly.<sup>32</sup> In L78 (to a friend in Thessalonica, c. 1363), Demetrius expresses hesitation in writing because he knows that his friend will share the letters with the *θέατρον* he has assembled,<sup>33</sup> which Demetrius fears is likely to be secretly critical.<sup>34</sup> In L164 (placed by Tinnfeld between 1373–1379) Demetrius tells an unnamed friend that he (Demetrius) has shared his friend's letter with many people.<sup>35</sup> In L432 (1391, to Manuel II) Demetrius mentions others sharing in the reading of Manuel's letter.<sup>36</sup>

These examples are a sample of such references in Demetrius' letters, selected mainly because of their distribution in time. They are not exhaustive, although it also cannot be claimed that such comments are numerous, or that they give much detail about how letters were 'shared'. However, there is enough to indicate that 'sharing' in some way was a normal procedure. Moreover, even the few examples given show letters circulating in different contexts: in imperial circles, in Demetrius' own circle, in circles gathered around Demetrius' friends, in Constantinople and Thessalonica, and over the course of five decades. Although at times the comments may have more of a rhetorical purpose, at other times there is enough detail to imply that the phrase indicates a reality. The phraseology is often unspecific: for example, does 'sharing' imply a specific occasion with a gathering of listeners, or some other form of transmission, such as passing the letter round in written form? However, the key point is that some letters were communicated amongst peer groups, thus increasing the possible scope of circulation of Demetrius' ideas.

<sup>31</sup> τοῦθ' ὁμολόγουν σαφῶς ὅσοις ἐγὼ τῆς τῶν γραμμάτων ἀναγνώσεως ἐκοινωνῶν. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, 38: 12, 18 f.

<sup>32</sup> οὕτως ἡμῖν τὸ θέατρον ἔσεισας, ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντα ἀρίστου βασιλέως ἀρξάμενος.... ὥστ' ἐμοὶ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ἐπιτρέψας ἠνώχλει κελεύων λέγειν πολλάκις. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, 73: 40, 13 f., 16 f.

<sup>33</sup> νῦν δὲ τί τις ἀν γράφοι, Πλάτωνι προσηῶν θέατρον καθίζοντός σου τοῖς λόγοις. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, 111: 78, 20 f.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 21–24.

<sup>35</sup> ... ὅσοις ἐκοινωνῶν τῆς ἀναγνώσεως—πλείστοις δὲ ἐκοινωνῶν.... Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, II*, 34: 164, 8.

<sup>36</sup> ἀλλ' εὖ ἴσθι ὡς ὅπερ ἐμοὶ τοῦτο καὶ πᾶσιν οἷς τῆς ἀναγνώσεως ἐκοινωνῶν συνέβαιεν. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, II*, 388: 432, 18 f.

Demetrius' letters also suggest a third, rather less licit, level at which the contents of letters could circulate. Demetrius sometimes refers to letters falling into the wrong hands. In L31, to George the Philosopher (1361), Demetrius tells George that his (George's) previous letter passed through many hands, and was discussed by many, before it reached Demetrius, thus exposing Demetrius to suspicion.<sup>37</sup> L43 (1346, to Isidore Boucheiras) expresses awareness of such problems: Demetrius has been reluctant to write to Isidore before, because of the dangers involved.<sup>38</sup> The implication is that a letter could end up in the wrong hands and cause difficulties. In L93 (1364, to Simon Atumanos), Demetrius says that he is aware that many others are likely to read it.<sup>39</sup> In L103 (1367/8, also to Simon), Demetrius says Simon's previous letter to John V was read by others before reaching John: the emperor learnt from others what he should have been the first to know.<sup>40</sup>

That there might be some extended knowledge, particularly of official letters, is unsurprising; one would expect secretaries and advisors to be involved, and that this could result in some leakage. Likewise, the process of sending a letter—finding a trustworthy carrier, ensuring that it reached the recipient, avoiding the perils of the route—is full of potential for material going astray, and Demetrius repeatedly returns to this idea in his letters. But the examples above are particularly noteworthy, both because of the specific detail they give and because the content of the letters concerned relates to extremely delicate personal and political matters.

These three levels of potential circulation should not be applied indiscriminately. Some letters are addressed simply to one individual, with little reason or opportunity for further circulation; some letters are addressed to groups; some contexts are more open to abuse than others. Each letter should be considered individually. There are also other questions not yet addressed: for example, might the contents of the letters also go beyond the literary groups involved, to a wider audience? L31, for example, lends itself to this

<sup>37</sup> Καὶ ταύτης αἰτία σοι τῆς δόξης τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς γεγένηται γράμματα. ἃ πρὶν ἡμᾶς ἐπα-  
νήκειν ἐν πολλῶν κείμενα καὶ χερσὶ καὶ γλώσσαις ἠκούομεν. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, 62: 31, 74 ff.

<sup>38</sup> πολλάκις ἐν γράμμασι αἰτήσαι βουλευθεῖς συμμαχίαν, ὑφωρόμην τοὺς πᾶν ὃ τι τύχοι  
ῥαδίως αἰτωμένους. νῦν δ' εὐρῶν ᾧ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων προσήκει θαρρεῖν, αἰτῶ τὴν παρα-  
μυθίαν. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, 77 f.: 43, 27–30.

<sup>39</sup> οὐχ ἦτον πᾶσιν ἢ σοι ταῦτ' ἐπιστέλλω, πάντας ὄψεσθαι ταῦτα νομίζω καὶ ἀναγνώ-  
σεσθαι. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, 125: 93, 11 f.

<sup>40</sup> ... τῷ πάντ' ἀρίστῳ πέπομφας βασιλεῖ, πᾶς δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκείνου ἀνέγνω, ὥστ' ἦκουε  
παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἃ πρότερον αὐτὸν γινώσκων ἐχρῆν. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Cor-  
respondance, I*, 139: 103, 7 ff.

interpretation:<sup>41</sup> Demetrius speaks of the contents of George's letter being on people's *tongues* (ἐν... γλώσσαις)—i.e., being discussed. This is important, since it would allow for Demetrius' reputation to go far beyond the relatively restricted group of the educated, and penetrate to a more popular level. However, if applied with due caution, the various possibilities discussed above can provide a useful basis upon which to work.

The circulation of Demetrius' other writings can, in some respects, be viewed along similar lines. Even in terms of genre, there can at times be little to choose—particularly in terms of context—between letters and other writings. An encomiastic speech such as the *Second Oration to John Kantakuzenos* has much in common with an encomiastic letter, and may belong in similar contexts. Parallels can also be drawn between the *Monody on the Dead of Thessalonica* and letters which lament and eulogise dead friends:<sup>42</sup> a similar context of circulation within circles connected with the deceased is likely. L5 (2nd Sept. 1346), supposedly a letter, has few of the characteristics of a letter; its meditative and philosophical content gives it a certain kinship to the *De contemnenda morte*. Having said this, however, there are also differences to take into account, particularly regarding the apologias, the *Pro subsidio* and the *De non reddenda Callipoli*; as pointed out above, the manuscripts suggest that theological material circulated separately from the secular.<sup>43</sup>

As with the letters, the first level of circulation to consider is that of the initial recipients of Demetrius' writings. Unlike with the letters, however, in most cases a specific 'addressee' is not identified. However, in some cases association with an individual is possible. Demetrius' early translations, for example, can be connected with Kantakuzenos: in the *Apologia I*, when speaking of Kantakuzenos' approval of his translations,<sup>44</sup> Demetrius says Kantakuzenos had the translation of Aquinas' *SCG* copied, and was copied in this by other leading figures;<sup>45</sup> and that Kantakuzenos continued to finance Demetrius' translations.<sup>46</sup> Two covering letters show Demetrius sending work to Helena Kantakuzena: L256 (1382/3?) mentions Demetrius' sermon

<sup>41</sup> See above, p. 139.

<sup>42</sup> E.g. L100, L363.

<sup>43</sup> p. 135.

<sup>44</sup> See above, p. 14.

<sup>45</sup> οὕτω δὲ σπουδῆς ἄξιον ἐνομίσθη, ὥστ' εὐθὺς μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς λαβὼν ἐξεγράψατο, ταῦτό δ' ἐποίησεν καὶ τῶν σεμνοτέρων πολλοὶ καὶ οἷς ἦν μαθεῖν τι τῶν χρησίμων σπουδῆ. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 363, 25 ff.

<sup>46</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπισταμένους γράφειν εὐπορωτέρους ἐποίησεν οἷς περὶ τὸ μετεγγράφειν ἐπόνουν, σφόδρα γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βιβλίων ἐρῶν πολλοῦ τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα τῶν γραφῶν λόγους ὠνεῖτο. *Ibid.*, p. 364, 48 ff.

on St Laurence, and L25 (1371/73?) an unspecified work of Augustine. L213 (1379–1382?) shows Demetrius sending a copy of his sermon on St Laurence to Nicholas Kabasilas, at Kabasilas' request.<sup>47</sup> Demetrius' *Defence of Saint Thomas*<sup>48</sup> was written in response to Nil Kabasilas, and Constantine Asanes is addressed in another of Demetrius' works.<sup>49</sup>

Although this information is limited, it is still illuminating. All five named here are also important figures in Demetrius' correspondence. This suggests, unsurprisingly, at least some correlation between the circulation of Demetrius' letters and the circulation of his other writings. Moreover, these five figures have strong claims to be regarded as highly influential in their different spheres, with potential access to and influence over much of the elite. This in itself implies considerable potential circulation for Demetrius' writings and translations.

This is also supported by further references to texts being circulated, albeit to anonymous recipients. The reference in L1 to the *De contemnenda morte* has already been mentioned.<sup>50</sup> L343 (1387/6/7?) asks an unknown friend to return a copy of Demetrius' sermon on the Ascension. L384 (1387–1389?) mentions the sending of a copy of Demetrius' sermon on the Annunciation. With regard to translations, L328 (1386?) is a covering letter for a copy of Demetrius' translation of the *Contra legem Saracenorum*.<sup>51</sup> L287 (1383?) mentions the sending of a text, without specifying the text. Finally, L79 (1371/2, to Manuel Palaiologos) and L346 (1387, to an unnamed monk) both mention proimion no. 3.

There are also references to the copying of Demetrius' texts. L384 speaks of the recipient of Demetrius' sermon on the Ascension copying the sermon himself, and allowing others to do the same.<sup>52</sup> L263 (1383, to Akakios) indicates that Akakios, at Manuel II's request, was engaged in copying Demetrius' letters. L437 (?1394, to Manuel Kalekas) speaks with gratitude of Kalekas' work in transcribing Demetrius' writings.

These references, when put together with the references to named individuals associated with Demetrius' work, give the impression that the copying

<sup>47</sup> Kabasilas' reply, also extant, confirms the identity of the sermon. See Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol II*, p. 210.

<sup>48</sup> Above, pp. 47 f.

<sup>49</sup> Above, p. 32, with note 162.

<sup>50</sup> Above, pp. 46; also 135 f.

<sup>51</sup> Above, p. 26.

<sup>52</sup> αὐτὸς τε ἐξεγράψατο καὶ συνέδριον ἀθροίσας ὡς πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἀνεγίνωσκε, καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις μετεγγράφειν ἐτοίμως παρεῖχεν. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, II*, 334: 384, 8 ff.

and sending of Demetrius' work was a fairly routine matter. However, is this a fair impression? This is important, since if it was indeed routine, this would imply that, even where there is no direct evidence for circulation, it is quite likely that Demetrius' ideas were well known. Is it reasonable to extrapolate in this way from the examples given? In particular, it is noticeable that the references given above date for the most part to after c. 1371. Is it safe to assume that they can also be taken as representative of earlier conditions?

In terms of Demetrius' own works, various considerations argue against exaggerated scepticism. The bulk of his translations of Aquinas, the *Apologia I*, the *Pro subsidio*, the *De contemnenda morte*, three of the speeches, and the *Contra legem Saracenorum* undoubtedly predate the 1370s. Other translations may also do so. The absence of positive mention of many of these works being circulated near the time of composition need not be taken as proof that they were not publicised at the time: the positive evidence is far too sporadic to justify an argument from silence. Above all, the writings themselves presume the existence of some kind of audience at the time of writing.

Demetrius' correspondence also refers at times to the circulation of material other than his own. For example, in L400 (1371/2, to Kantakuzenos) Demetrius complains that Kantakuzenos has widely copied and circulated his (Kantakuzenos') work against Prochoros.<sup>53</sup> Something similar can be said of Nil Kabasilas' *On the Holy Spirit*, in the early 1360s. In the *Apologia I*, Demetrius says that while Nil was alive he would not allow Demetrius to read the treatise, explicitly forbidding those to whom he (Nil) gave it to 'share' it with Demetrius.<sup>54</sup> The implication of this is that the treatise was circulating independently, since it could potentially be disposed of without reference to Nil.

This last instance also highlights the importance of realising that texts might circulate in a variety of ways. The emphasis so far has been on the copying and sending of manuscripts. The *Apologia I*'s mention of Nil, however, with its loose references to 'giving' and 'sharing', is a reminder that texts could circulate without either copying or sending. A manuscript might be made relatively widely accessible without even changing hands

<sup>53</sup> και βιβλία πολλά τοῦτον ποιῶν, δῶρον πέμπεις πανταχόσε τοῖς δεχομένοις αὐτὸν... ὧν πολλοὺς μὲν εἰς Ἰωνίαν, πολλοὺς δὲ εἰς Κύπρον καὶ Κρήτην καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ Τράπεζοῦντα δὲ καὶ Χερσῶνα πέμπων... Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, II, 356: 400, 18–22.

<sup>54</sup> ἐγὼ δὲ τούτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτήν ἐντυχῶν,—αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ζῶν οὐκ ἐδίδου, καὶ οἷς δὲ ἐδίδου προείρητο πᾶσι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοὶ κοινωεῖν τοῦ βιβλίου,—Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 393, 55 ff.

(libraries, private collections, archives), or at least without permanently changing hands, or significant geographical remove. Moreover, longer works could just as easily be 'shared' through verbal communication rather than in written form as letters could be. Thus ideas could be passed around without this necessitating exaggerated claims about levels of scribal activity.

This all goes to illustrate that the 'second level' of circulation mentioned in connection with the letters—through *θέατρα* and 'sharing'—can also be applied to Demetrius' other writings. This means that a similar potential exists for Demetrius' writings to have received a wide public airing, quite possibly within broadly similar circles.

However, is the 'third level' of circulation—that of 'leakage' or illicit circulation—in any way meaningful when it comes to the wider corpus of Demetrius' writings? That is to say, would it make sense to speak in terms of Demetrius' writings being acquired surreptitiously by his enemies, with the intention of using them against him? For the situation to be viewed in this way, however, would require it to be assumed that Demetrius, under normal circumstances, envisaged his writings as being kept within restricted circles—concealed from opponents. Demetrius himself claims that this was happening in other cases: he claims that Nil Kabasilas did this,<sup>55</sup> and criticises Kantakuzenos for not allowing him to read and respond to treatises written against Prochoros.<sup>56</sup> Did he do this himself, intending certain writings only for a like-minded audience?

There are no obvious cases where Demetrius speaks of his enemies illicitly accessing his writings. L384, it is true, mentions that the addressee has made public one of Demetrius' sermons, enabling opponents to criticise parts of it as anti-Palamite; but there is little sense that this is either illicit or much of a problem. This lack of reference to 'leakage' is one indicator, albeit inconclusive, that this was not an issue with regard to most of Demetrius' writings. It is supported, moreover, by Demetrius' own statements to the effect that he deliberately placed his ideas in the public realm: he certainly *claims* to be direct and open about his activities and opinions. The *Apologia I* suggests that his learning of Latin and studying of western texts was well-known to his compatriots. He speaks of passing his discoveries on to others.<sup>57</sup> The entire *Apologia I* assumes to-and-fro discussion between Demetrius and his

<sup>55</sup> Above, p. 142.

<sup>56</sup> See below, p. 162.

<sup>57</sup> πολλοὺς τῶν παρ' ἐκείνους (sc. Λατίνοις) ἄκρων καὶ τέως ἀγνωσμένων ἔθηκα γνωρίμους τοῖς ἡμετέροις. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 364, 45 f.



contemporaries. In the *Apologia II*, moreover, Demetrius claims that he has always given an accurate, sincere account of his beliefs to any questioner.<sup>58</sup>

These comments could be seen as rhetorical rather than factual. However, the strongest argument in favour of the idea that Demetrius did seek to publicise his views is the nature of the writings themselves. All four apologies have strong messages which Demetrius seems anxious to publicise. *Apologia II* and *III* assume a need to counteract disinformation: this could not be done without publicity. This also applies to some extent to the *Apologia I*, although the necessity to publicise the ideas is less directly expressed in terms of personal vindication. The *Apologia IV* is an attempt to discredit Philotheos and reinstate Prochoros' reputation:<sup>59</sup> again, without publicity, it could not serve its purpose. Of the speeches, concern for publicity is less visible and less necessary in the *First Oration to John Kantakuzenos* and the *Oration to John Palaiologos*; but both the *Pro subsidio* and the *De non reddenda* are explicitly presented as addressed to a public audience including opponents, while their political message bears the hallmarks of a political programme designed to be publicised.

These last two pieces mentioned—the *Pro subsidio* and the *De non reddenda*—require particular consideration when it comes to context. They present peculiar problems, as well as intriguing possibilities. Their structure and expression implies that they are speeches delivered to a political gathering, and their dates imply that they were delivered at times when crucial decisions had to be taken in the absence of the emperor. However, should they be read in this way, as connected to some kind of forum for political debate, or are they to be understood more as literary compositions? The difficulty here is that not much is known about how political processes functioned in practical terms in the period, and therefore how political views might have been expressed.

Demetrius' writings contain numerous references to speechmaking in one form or another. Examples can be found in his letters: L389 (1347–1352, to Helena Kantakuzena) praises Helena for a speech delivered to her father, L82 (?1388–1390) and L262 (1383) praise Manuel Palaiologos for his speeches, and L304 (1385, also to Manuel) speaks of the virtue of speechmaking in an emperor. L299 and L410 (respectively 1384–1385 and ?1389, both to

<sup>58</sup> σὺν Θεῷ γὰρ φάναι πάντας ἔχω συμφθεγγόμενους μηδὲν πλάσματος ἢ σκηνῆς τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις ἢ τρόποις παραμειχθῆναι... ὥστε κἀν ταῖς κοιναῖς δὴ ταύταις καὶ περὶ μικρῶν ὀμιλίαις εἴ τί τις ἔροιστό με, ἄπεισιν ἐξ ἧκουσεν ἀντικρὺς αὐτὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ μοι παθήματα πεπεισμένος εἰδέναι. *Ibid.*, p. 405, 71–76.

<sup>59</sup> See below, pp. 232–239.

Manuel) both mention victory encomia. Demetrius also uses the idea of speeches as a literary device: this has already been mentioned with reference to the *De non reddenda*<sup>60</sup> and the *Apologia I*,<sup>61</sup> but it also appears elsewhere, for example in L36 (1370, to Andronikos Oinaiotēs).

How this relates to the real functioning of the public sphere is, however, a different question. Histories such as those of Gregoras and of Kantakuzenos are, of course, full of examples of rhetorical speeches, many of which ostensibly delivered to political or public gatherings, of various forms. A particularly well-known episode describes Kantakuzenos assembling the citizens of Constantinople and asking them, in a lengthy speech, to contribute further to public funds.<sup>62</sup> Quite where rhetoric leaves off and reality takes over in cases such as this is, of course, debatable, although it seems reasonable to assume that a certain degree of demagogy, as well as some system of consultation within the governmental elite, would have been necessary.

That this is in fact the case, and that it bears direct relation to Demetrius' activities, is borne out by another of Demetrius' letters. L114 (1372/3?, to an unnamed but influential figure) reacts to what Demetrius sees as a tendency to drive the poor to rebellion through harsh conditions. Demetrius inveighs against those who make speeches against the poor<sup>63</sup> and have become rich through speaking in praise of the rulers before the people.<sup>64</sup> Demetrius advises the addressee to speak out against the current abuses, and show what can be achieved by a skilful rhetor speaking to the purpose.<sup>65</sup> If Demetrius adds, he were himself recalled to the *synedrion*, he would do the same, speaking out for the benefit of the city.<sup>66</sup> The letter thus suggests two related levels of 'public' speaking: the first much more demagogic and popular, the second within a specific gathering or *synedrion*, in which Demetrius has himself spoken in the past.

<sup>60</sup> Above, p. 79.

<sup>61</sup> Above, p. 103.

<sup>62</sup> See Nicol, *Last Centuries*, p. 220.

<sup>63</sup> ἤκουσα τῆς κατὰ τῶν πενήτων δημηγορίας ἄθλα νῦν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις προκείσθαι. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 152: 114, 4f.

<sup>64</sup> ὅτι δὴ δεινοὶ τινες δοκοῦσιν ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ πλήθους τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων γινόμενα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν εὐπορίαν ἅπαντας τρέχειν. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 152: 114, 6f.

<sup>65</sup> αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς κοινῆς φωνῆς τῆς πατριδος καλούσης τῇ τοῦτων φλυαρίᾳ τὴν σὴν μετὰ τοῦ καιροῦ παρηρησίαν ἀντίθες, καὶ δεῖξον ὅσον ὄφελος ῥήτορος μετ' εὐνοίας ἐν πόλει δημηγοροῦντος. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 152: 114, 31 ff.

<sup>66</sup> πέπεισο δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον κληθέντας οὐκ ἐνδώσειν τοῖς μισθωτοῖς, οὐδ' ἐρεῖν δι' ἧν οἷς μὲν οὐ δίκαιον χαρισόμεθα, ἡμᾶς δ' αὐτοὺς ἀνατρέφωμεν καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα συμβουλευόμεθα ὅσα πραχθέντα ταύτην ὀρθώσειν πεπεσμένα. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 152f.: 114, 33–36.

With regard to the level of political discussion found in the *Pro subsidio* and the *De non reddenda*, a useful comparison can be found in a patriarchal memorandum dating to c. 1361. In this document, the patriarch Kallistos gives advice to John V concerning a proposed treaty with the Genoese and Venetians.<sup>67</sup> The scenario envisaged is one in which the state dignitaries have already gathered to debate the issue.<sup>68</sup> This, a documentary rather than literary/rhetorical account, thus suggests that issues of this nature were indeed debated within some kind of assembly, and that different points of view could be put forward. This thus provides a potential context for political discussions of the kind found in the *Pro subsidio* and the *De non reddenda*.

There is, however, also a sense in which such comparisons cannot do full justice to the *Pro subsidio* and the *De non reddenda*. Both speeches are highly unusual, in that they apparently show a senior government figure putting forward policy suggestions in the absence of the emperor. In this sense, the two speeches are without direct parallels.

This being said, it is not necessary, for present purposes, to draw out the possible implications of the unusual character of the texts. All that is being suggested at this point is that it is reasonable to think of the speeches as related, if not in their full form then at least in their core concerns, with some kind of public debate—as, indeed, they purport to be. The brief discussion above, which suggests that recognised opportunity existed for both ‘popular’ and ‘elite’ oratory, makes this quite possible. It would probably be to go too far to suggest that the *Pro subsidio* and the *De non reddenda* should be read in terms of popular demagogy, although basic elements of them could have been used in such a way. But it is certainly not difficult to envisage their contents as suited to debate within an elite assembly.

Given, therefore, that Demetrius’ writings seem mostly to be designed to be publicised, it is unlikely that their contents would have failed to also reach hostile groups. Demetrius shows no particular concern to prevent this, and his writings often presume hostile groups in his audience, and respond to them directly, rather than seeking to avoid them. The evident fraternisation between individuals representing different views<sup>69</sup> also suggests that material

<sup>67</sup> Darrouzès, N. 2437. Koder, J, Hinterberger, M and Kresten, O. (eds.), *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel, Teil 3* (Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 2001), p. 260. See also below, p. 263.

<sup>68</sup> συναθροισθέντων οὖν καὶ τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου ἀρχόντων, ἐλέχθησαν τὰ περὶ τῆς συμφωνίας καὶ καταστάσεως τῶν τε Γεννοικῶν καὶ Βενεϊτῶν. Koder et al, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel, Teil 3*, p. 540, 10 ff.

<sup>69</sup> As, for example, Demetrius’ own acquaintance amongst leading Orthodox figures. See below, pp. 165 ff.

would have been exchanged at least between moderate representatives of different points of view. This in turn might allow for the communication of ideas from moderates to extremists, who might not themselves have access to such material. On the other hand, it is precisely the more extreme opposition who might be expected to attempt to gather information to use against their opponents. Thus, if it is to be assumed that Demetrius’ ideas were publicised even on a small scale, it is unlikely that his opponents would have had difficulty accessing them.

Demetrius’ writings against Philotheos are a case in point. They are extremely provocative: a direct personal attack on the patriarch, challenging his authority fundamentally.<sup>70</sup> What audience did they reach? Their concern to undermine Philotheos and reinstate Prochoros implies that they were intended to reach as wide an audience as possible, to sway opinion; without this, their purpose could not possibly be achieved. Given this, even if they were not sent directly to Philotheos, he is highly likely to have been aware of them, since he would have had every reason to investigate the case. It is probable, however, that they represent a public challenge, sent to Philotheos and circulated more widely, to publicise the challenge.

Publicity for Demetrius’ ideas need not, of course, mean that his writings were accurately conveyed in public. The *Apologias II* and *III* highlight this: they are specifically designed to refute misrepresentation.<sup>71</sup> But the possibility of misrepresentation, if anything, increases the likelihood that Demetrius and his supporters were concerned to publicise their real agenda.

There are, of course, factors which limit understanding of how Demetrius’ more extended writings circulated, just as there are in the case of the letters. Each writing implies a different context and different intentions: each must still be considered separately. The division between theological and secular works in the manuscripts highlights this; it cannot be assumed that what applies to one set of material applies to another. Another question is whether the writings represent the form in which Demetrius publicised his ideas: do they give a fair account of the ‘public’ version of Demetrius’ ideas, or were they put into the public sphere in a different, perhaps abbreviated form? And to what extent were his ideas conveyed beyond the intellectual elite? Such considerations combine to illustrate the complexity of the problem.

However, these difficulties do not rule out use of Demetrius’ writings for the purposes of this study. This chapter is concerned with discussing whether certain ideas may have been publicly associated with Demetrius, and hence

<sup>70</sup> See below, pp. 232–239.

<sup>71</sup> Above, pp. 45 f.

whether they are relevant when it comes to interpreting the significance of his career. This need not depend entirely on establishing the precise context of the writings themselves, but can also include wider considerations. This can be illustrated by considering how Demetrius expresses himself. Although he uses high-level language, he is also very direct; some of his key themes are essentially very simple. This is true, for example, of his idea of shared Roman identity,<sup>72</sup> of his insistence on *συμφωνία* between Greek and Latin fathers,<sup>73</sup> and of his characterisation of the Palamite debate as being between monotheism and polytheism.<sup>74</sup> Such ideas could easily have been communicated widely, even on a popular level: they could have been widely associated with Demetrius even if the actual text of the *Apologia I* was not widely read. Although understanding the nature and context of the writings themselves is important, it should not be allowed to restrict the possibilities. The above discussion can only go so far, as indicating certain possibilities for circulation; it should not be regarded as prescriptive.

The discussion so far, in identifying various possibilities regarding the circulation of Demetrius' writings, has tended to present a positive reading of the situation, suggesting that channels for circulation were very much in existence, and that Demetrius himself promoted the public airing of his ideas. However, the level of public awareness of Demetrius' ideas would not have been the same in all cases, and there is also a chronological aspect to be considered: Demetrius' public image would have developed over time. The remainder of this chapter will look at more specific detail, considering what aspects of Demetrius' thought can be considered, either certainly or to some degree of probability, to have been public knowledge at various points in the decades under study. To do this, it will focus primarily on the key topics considered in Section II.

#### 4.2. POLITICAL THEMES

##### 4.2.1. *Demetrius and His Imperial Patrons*

With regard to Demetrius' association with various imperial figures, a key question is the extent to which he was publicly regarded as closely associated with them and hence influential. This has particular implications when it comes to considering both the extent to which Demetrius may have drawn

<sup>72</sup> Above, pp. 71 f.

<sup>73</sup> Above, pp. 119 f.

<sup>74</sup> Above, pp. 125 f.

credibility from imperial backing and the extent to which the emperors themselves might have been associated with Demetrius' ideas.

As has been seen in Chapter 2,<sup>75</sup> generally speaking, Demetrius belongs very much within the Byzantine literary and political tradition in his attitude to imperial office. What is more important, in terms of the struggles of the 1340s and 1350s, is whose authority he accepted, and who he would have been associated with publicly.

Demetrius' association with the Kantakuzenoi is likely to have been highly public. It is possible that the *First Oration to John Kantakuzenos* was delivered in public, or at any rate within a select elite group, which would place the close family connection with Kantakuzenos<sup>76</sup> at the very foundation of Demetrius' career. But even without this, other circumstances indicate that Demetrius' association with them would have been widely known.

First, Demetrius evidently openly acknowledged the Kantakuzenoi. Even leaving the *First Oration* aside, the *Second Oration*, as encomium, seems designed for a public context. Demetrius' letters also demonstrate sustained association. A set of letters from the civil war years shows Demetrius establishing contact with Kantakuzenos (L11, 1341/2), eulogising him (*passim*), desiring his presence (L12, 1342/3), hoping for his victory (L9, 1346). Letters to Manuel Kantakuzenos from the same period indicate contact between him and Demetrius (L17, c. 1344; L19, 1345/6; L18, 1346). Such correspondence is likely to have been relatively public: the Kantakuzenoi, as literary patrons with a concern to establish their imperial claims, are frequently to be observed following court literary norms, and the encomiastic character of Demetrius' letters would have suited them to such a public context. But even if this is not enough to prove the public nature of Demetrius' connection with the Kantakuzenoi, they also provide more conclusive support: they show that Demetrius was at various stages physically present in the Kantakuzenos camp,<sup>77</sup> thus clearly colluding with them in the civil war.

There is also clear evidence regarding Demetrius' involvement in Kantakuzenos' administration. The *Apologia I* describes Demetrius' early promotion by Kantakuzenos, with Kantakuzenos appointing Demetrius to a position far beyond his years, making Demetrius principal intermediary between the emperor and his petitioners.<sup>78</sup> Kantakuzenos supports this

<sup>75</sup> Above, pp. 49 f.

<sup>76</sup> Above, pp. 50 ff.

<sup>77</sup> See Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, pp. 8 ff.

<sup>78</sup> ...ἦλθον παρὰ βασιλέα...καὶ γὰρ τοὶ παρὸν αὐτοῦ φιλίας μὲν ἔτυχον καὶ τιμῆς, οὐχ οἷαν ἂν τις ἤξιωσε νεανίσκον ἄρτι παιδαγωγῶν καὶ μουσείων ἀπηλλαγμένον...ἠρωτιμώμην τε γὰρ μετὰ τοὺς πρώτους εὐθὺς...τοσαύτης δέ μοι παρ' αὐτῷ χάρας εὐθὺς ἠθέλησε

when he refers to Demetrius as *τοῖς πράγμασι μεσάζων* in 1354;<sup>79</sup> Demetrius also refers to the rank of *μεσάζων* later, in L50 (c. 1356, to Alexios Kassandrenos).<sup>80</sup> The descriptions given by both the *Apologia I* and Kantakuzenos indicate that Demetrius' proximity to Kantakuzenos must have been widely known; it cannot have gone unnoticed. Letters from the period of Kantakuzenos' rule (1347–1354) flesh this out, showing Demetrius involved in government affairs, although in rather bland terms.

A more controversial question is whether, as Demetrius claims in the *Apologia I*, Kantakuzenos did indeed actively sponsor his work on Aquinas, and whether this was also widely known.<sup>81</sup> The *Apologia I* was written later, when Kantakuzenos was out of office, and with a particular agenda of its own. However, these claims probably have a basis in fact.<sup>82</sup> There are indications of Kantakuzenos' intellectual and spiritual affinities with Demetrius,<sup>83</sup> as well as his openness to the west.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, while it is difficult to believe that Demetrius could have carried out such extensive work without at least the knowledge of the emperor, positing active imperial patronage would go far to explain the existence and scale of the project. This being the case, there is likely to have been considerable awareness of this aspect of Demetrius' activities, and Kantakuzenos' support of it—just as the *Apologia I* suggests.

As Chapter 2 made clear, Demetrius' relationship with John V is rather complex and difficult to elucidate. Correspondingly, so too is its public projection. However, certain points can be made.

The first concerns Demetrius' connections with John during Kantakuzenos' reign. In the *Oration to John Palaiologos* Demetrius asserts that he spoke out in favour of John during Kantakuzenos' reign.<sup>85</sup> It is not improbable that

μεταδοῦναι, ὥστε προεῖπε μηδένα τῶν αὐτοῦ δεομένων ἄλλως ἢν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔδειτο δυνηθῆναι τυχεῖν μὴ πρότερον ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων διαλεχθέντα. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 360, 26–34.

<sup>79</sup> See above, p. 54, with note 36.

<sup>80</sup> Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 84: 50, 23.

<sup>81</sup> See above, p. 14, p. 140.

<sup>82</sup> Meyendorff ('Projets de concile oecuménique en 1367', p. 163) simply assumes Kantakuzenos' direct patronage of the translations.

<sup>83</sup> For example, Kantakuzenos' comment that he at one point considered retiring to a monastery with Nicholas Kabasilas and Demetrius (above, pp. 51 f.) and Kantakuzenos' use of Demetrius' translation of the *Contra legem Saracenorum* (above, p. 26).

<sup>84</sup> See below, Chapter 5, passim, for his involvement in negotiations with the papacy.

<sup>85</sup> ὡς οὐδὲν οὐτ' εἶπον οὔτε συνεβούλευσα τῶν σοὶ βλαβὴν ἂν ἐνεγκόντων, μάλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ σοῦ πολλάκις εἰλόμην, διαρρηθὴν εἰπὼν πολλῶν Ῥωμαίοις ἄρξειν κακῶν τὴν σὴν μὲν φυγὴν, ὧν δ' οὐκ ἔδει χειροτονίαν—τότε μόνον ἀντέλεγον, ὡς ἂν ἐφ' ἅπερ οὐκ ἐβουλόμην ἐλκόμενος. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, p. 12, section 3, 3–6.

Demetrius may have spoken against alienation of John, for a variety of reasons. However, this should probably be treated primarily within the context of his role in Kantakuzenos' administration. Letters from the period to 1354 show Demetrius giving an ambassador instructions to persuade John to trust Kantakuzenos and renounce rebellion (L64, spring 1352), congratulating Kantakuzenos apparently on the occasion of victory over John (L15, summer 1352),<sup>86</sup> and complaining that John, the 'tyrant of Tenedos', was responsible for delaying Demetrius' letters (L58, 1353/4, to Prochoros).<sup>87</sup> These references suggest that, although Demetrius may have tended to favour John's claims, he would in public have remained Kantakuzenos' man.

However, when it comes to Demetrius' transition from service to Kantakuzenos to service to John, this would have also been highly public. In the *Oration to John Palaiologos*, Demetrius portrays John as very anxious to secure Demetrius' return. Some exaggeration can be allowed for here, but Demetrius' recall, with its implied association with imperial confidence, must have been a matter of public knowledge.

As was pointed out in Chapter 2, the sources for Demetrius' relationship with John are rather different to those available for his relationship with Kantakuzenos. The letters give a rather patchy presentation of the contacts between them. At times they are positive in tone: there are occasional encomiastic letters (e.g. L89, 1363), letters expressing good wishes (e.g. L193, ?1373/4), praise of John to third parties (e.g. L76, date uncertain, unnamed recipient), positive appreciation of John's role (L28, summer 1371, to Demetrius Palaiologos). At other times they are more negative: for example, there are letters in which Demetrius is protesting his loyalty in the face of imperial disfavour (e.g. L133, c. 1373), and even letters complaining about John withholding money owed (e.g. L70, ?1372).

Demetrius' letters relating to John vary considerably in terms of identity of addressee and genre, and therefore, when it comes to question of context, particularly call for individual treatment, as discussed above. A crucial question is whether they can be placed in a similar context to the letters concerning other imperial figures. John is not associated with intellectual circles, in the same way as Kantakuzenos and Manuel II,<sup>88</sup> and Demetrius' letters regarding John rarely suggest a *theatron*-type gathering. This may explain the different character of some of them: if they were not designed for such a setting, Demetrius could perhaps be more relaxed with regard

<sup>86</sup> Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, I*, pp. 206 f.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, I*, p. 199.

<sup>88</sup> See the discussion of John V above, pp. 55 ff.

to genre and topic—rather less concerned with a potential audience. In a sense, this could add to the value of these letters: they may be a more genuine reflection of the situation than more ‘public’ communication. On the other hand, the lack of an in-built general audience may make them less directly relevant to assessment of Demetrius’ public image.

In particular, the negative aspects of material relating to Demetrius’ relationship with John should not be allowed to detract from the positive evidence for their public association in the 1350s and 1360s. Although the letters, and other material, do indicate a strained relationship between them in the early 1370s, probably reflected in the public sphere,<sup>89</sup> this cannot be applied also to the earlier period. It is not impossible that there were earlier disagreements; but there are few, if any, signs of this in the extant material, which shows Demetrius functioning without any apparent concerns about his own position. Later references to a breakdown in their relationship, in the letters and in the *Oration to John Palaiologos*, only serve to reinforce this, since they imply a stark contrast between earlier conditions and Demetrius’ later situation. Moreover, as will be discussed at greater length below, Demetrius was closely involved in major political developments of the 1360s.<sup>90</sup> These factors combine to suggest strongly that Demetrius was publicly very closely associated with John, personally and politically, in the late 1350s and early 1360s.

Demetrius’ close proximity to imperial circles is further supported by the evidence for his relationship with Manuel II and Helena in this period. The information available is relatively restricted: for the most part, it derives from a small number of letters, including encomia,<sup>91</sup> expressions of shared literary interest,<sup>92</sup> expressions of friendship, and attempts to enlist support in the early 1370s.<sup>93</sup> However, the style of these letters, and the literary interests of the recipients, mean that the letters can be conceived of as circulating within

<sup>89</sup> On Demetrius’ problems in this period, see Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, pp. 27 ff.

<sup>90</sup> See below, Chapter 5, esp. section 3.

<sup>91</sup> E.g. L389 (probably 1350/1; see Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 80), praising Helena’s literary accomplishment; L21 (summer 1371), praising Manuel’s exertions on behalf of his father.

<sup>92</sup> E.g. the mention in L25 of one of Demetrius’ translations of Augustine being sent to Helena (see above, p. 32; also pp. 140f.). Although Demetrius’ correspondence with Manuel abounds with references to Manuel’s literary abilities, the few letters dating to this early period do not bring this to the fore.

<sup>93</sup> E.g. L134 (1373, to Helena) and L132 (1373, to Manuel), in which Demetrius asks them to speak in his favour to John V, to smooth the way for his return from Lesbos.

elite literary-minded circles, in the manner discussed earlier in this chapter. The context to which L389 responds<sup>94</sup> supports this, as do references in Demetrius’ later correspondence with Manuel which assume such a practice. This implies that, at least within court circles, it would have been known that Demetrius was on good terms with both.

Moreover, although only a few letters bear witness to Demetrius’ relationship with Manuel and Helena in the period under study, this probably does less than justice to the level of contact between them. L134 (1373, to Helena),<sup>95</sup> for example, refers to previous close and frequent contacts between Demetrius and Helena, and L222 (1392, to Helena)<sup>96</sup> to long-standing friendship and support. With regard to Manuel, it is probable that Demetrius was in some sense his teacher;<sup>97</sup> their later correspondence certainly bears witness to a flourishing relationship, and suggests that Demetrius had a hand in Manuel’s education.<sup>98</sup> Both of these circumstances imply public imperial approbation of Demetrius, drawing in the extended imperial family. Thus Demetrius’ relationship with Manuel and Helena further supports the idea that he was understood publicly to have a confidential role in imperial concerns.

#### 4.2.2. Foreign Policy

##### *The Turkish Threat*

The two main sources dealing with Demetrius’ attitude to the Turks are, as discussed above, the *Pro subsidio Latinorum* and the *De non reddenda Callipoli*. The discussion earlier has suggested that it is likely that the ideas contained in these speeches do relate to a public setting of some kind.<sup>99</sup> If it is assumed that Demetrius was very close to John V, that he exercised great authority in John’s absence, and that a system did exist whereby speeches of this type could be delivered publicly, it is possible to see these speeches as representing publicly-expressed government policy. But even if this cannot be assumed—even if Demetrius’ position and authority were less clear cut, and the speeches unlikely to have been delivered publicly as they stand—nevertheless it is still highly probable that the main ideas of the speeches were

<sup>94</sup> See above, p. 144.

<sup>95</sup> English translation: Kianka, ‘The Letters of Demetrios Kydones to Empress Helena Kantakouzena Palaiologina’, pp. 160–163.

<sup>96</sup> English summary: Kianka, ‘The Letters of Demetrios Kydones to Empress Helena Kantakouzena Palaiologina’, pp. 161 ff.

<sup>97</sup> Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,I*, p. 17.

<sup>98</sup> For Manuel’s letters to Demetrius, see Dennis, *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*.

<sup>99</sup> pp. 144 ff.

publicly expressed. Thus Demetrius' general attitude towards the 'infidel' Turks, his emphasis on resistance, and possibly also his identification of 'renegade' Byzantines, would have been a matter of public knowledge at least by 1366.

The letters echo this. They express a sense of the danger posed by the Turks, and the necessity to resist them: the Turks threaten slavery or death (L63, 1371/2, unnamed recipient<sup>100</sup>); they must be resisted (L31, 1361, to George the Philosopher;<sup>101</sup> L106, 1371, to Demetrius Palaiologos<sup>102</sup>); deliverance from them is devoutly to be wished (L29, 1371, to Phakrases<sup>103</sup>); their depredations have impoverished the Byzantines (L103, 1367/8, to Simon Atumanos<sup>104</sup>); they aim at wide-scale conquest (L93, 1364, again to Simon<sup>105</sup>). Turkish influence in Byzantine society is also highlighted: Demetrius mentions Byzantines engaged in suspicious dealings with the Turks (L117, 1372/3?, to John V<sup>106</sup>).

These letters provide a useful supplement to the speeches. Two of them (L31 and L93) show that Demetrius' attitude to the Turks was highly negative before 1366. More importantly, however, the two letters to Simon Atumanos (L93, L103) deal with negotiations for crusade, showing Demetrius, as a representative of John V, advocating large-scale measures against the Turks. As already mentioned, both these letters refer to correspondence being

<sup>100</sup> The recipient, besieged by the Turks, would suffer slavery or death if he were to go beyond the walls (*ὑμῖν δὲ ἄντικρυς σαγήνη τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τοῖς ὑπερβαίνουσι ταῦτα ἢ θανεῖν ἢ δουλεύειν ἀνάγκη*. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 96: 63, 21 f.).

<sup>101</sup> Demetrius upbraids George for attacking a (Latin) priest when infidels are at hand and it is therefore important to present a united front (*εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γε ἰερωσύνην αἰδεσθῆναι προσήκε, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐγγύθεν ὄντων τῶν ἀσεβῶν, οἷς ἀνόσιον τῶν κατὰ τῆς πίστεως ὕβρεων ἀφορμὰς χορηγεῖν*. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 62: 31, 78 ff.).

<sup>102</sup> Demetrius speaks of the need for good and able men to resist the infidel (*ὄτ' ἀνδρῶν δέει οὐδὲν τῆς Θεμιστοκλέους συνέσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς λειπομένων, οἱ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀσεβῶν φορὰν αὐτοὺς ἀντιστήσοισι*. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 144: 106, 25 f.).

<sup>103</sup> Demetrius wishes Phakrases deliverance from the Turks (*σοὶ μὲν σωτηρίαν καὶ τῶν Τούρκων ἀπαλλαγὴν ...* Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 59: 29, 13 f.).

<sup>104</sup> *ἡμῖν οἱ κάκιστ' ἀπολούμενοι Τοῦρκοι τῶν ἐρίων οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ὑπελείποντο*. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 140: 103, 27 f.

<sup>105</sup> Demetrius warns that when the Turks have conquered the Empire and the east, they will then move against the west, strengthened by their conquests. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 127 f.: 93, 85–95.

<sup>106</sup> Demetrius cannot see why he should be denied permission to go to Mitylene when others are at the same time engaged in dealings with the Turks in opposition to John V (*καίτοι πολλοὺς ἴσμεν πρὸς τοὺς Τούρκους καὶ ἀποδημήσαντας καὶ κατὰ σοῦ συγγενομένους ἐκεῖνοις, καὶ συνδειπνήσαντας, καὶ δῶρα τὰ μὲν δόντας τὰ δὲ λαβόντας φανερώς ἐπανήκοντας*. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 156: 117, 22 ff.).

intercepted,<sup>107</sup> providing scope for Demetrius' role to have become public in this way. But the contents of the letters indicate that such speculation is in any case unnecessary: in L93, Demetrius says that plans for a crusade are common knowledge,<sup>108</sup> and that he is tired of having to defend himself against opponents in the face of these delays.<sup>109</sup> This implies that Demetrius was personally and publicly associated with the project at least by 1364, but quite probably for some time before.

There are, however, also cases in which Demetrius responds to the Turkish presence rather more neutrally. In October 1352, Kantakuzenos defeated John V near Didymoteichos with the aid of Turkish allies:<sup>110</sup> in L13 (Oct 1352, to Kantakuzenos), Demetrius celebrates this victory (mentioning Turks as 'Persians') without any sense that Kantakuzenos' alliance with them was questionable. L3 (1358, to Constantine Asanes) apparently relates to negotiations with Orhan concerning the release of Orhan's son Halil.<sup>111</sup> Demetrius urges Asanes, who is acting on John V's behalf, to 'reconcile Asia with Europe'.<sup>112</sup> Unlike many of Demetrius' later letters, such as those written to Manuel II when Manuel was campaigning with the Ottomans in Asia Minor, and L218, composed during Demetrius' own embassy to Asia Minor,<sup>113</sup> Demetrius does not dwell on the ignominy of forced co-operation, nor on the infamy and barbarism of the Turks.

This could suggest that Demetrius' attitude changed considerably between the 1350s and the 1360s, and that this was publicly evident; both L3 and L13 could have been circulated to some degree.<sup>114</sup> However, the overall situation makes this unlikely. The *De non reddenda*, as mentioned above, points to the fall of Gallipoli in 1354 as immediately provoking great panic

<sup>107</sup> See above, pp. 139 f.

<sup>108</sup> *οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν ὃς οὐκ ἐφ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ὡς ἀτύκτα μάλ' ἐκβησόμενον ἤκουσε*. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 126: 93, 50 f.

<sup>109</sup> *ἀπειρήμαμεν γὰρ λόγοις ἐλέγχοντες τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων κρατοῦντας*. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 127: 93, 83 ff.

<sup>110</sup> Nicol, *Last Centuries*, p. 238.

<sup>111</sup> Tinnefeld, 1981, 267 f.; for the events themselves, Nicol, *Last Centuries*, p. 261. Halil was captured and held in Phokaia. John V intervened to secure his release.

<sup>112</sup> *τὴν τε Ἀσίαν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ διάλλατε, τὰ μὲν διδοὺς τὰ δὲ δεχόμενος δῶρα*. Loenertz, 1956, 25: 3, 28 f.

<sup>113</sup> Demetrius was in Asia Minor in 1379–1381. See Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, I*, p. 33.

<sup>114</sup> L13, as encomium, could have been publicised within court circles. L3, given that it is addressed to an official in the emperor's entourage, uses flowery language, and alludes favourably to the character of both emperor and recipient, could also have been suited to public airing.

and upheaval,<sup>115</sup> while Demetrius' work on the *SCG* and the *Contra legem Saracenorum* in the 1350s shows him already concerned with theological confrontation with Islam.<sup>116</sup> This implies that, in the mid-1350s, Demetrius was both very aware of the practical Turkish threat and concerned with ideological resistance. It is unlikely, therefore, that his attitude was other than hostile in the 1350s, and unlikely that this was not to some extent known publicly. It is quite likely that the intensity of his involvement, and the practical possibilities open to him, may have increased with time; but it is not necessary to assume, on the strength of available evidence, that there was any dramatic shift in his attitude to the Turks.

*International Relations (Excluding the Latins)*

Most of the material in Chapter 2 dealing with Bulgarians, Serbs, Mongols and Hungarians comes from the *Pro subsidio Latinorum*, and therefore, in terms of public projection, is subject to similar considerations as the Turkish question. Demetrius' accusations against the Bulgarians and Serbs, scepticism regarding the Mongols, and acceptance of the necessity of trying to elicit Hungarian support would thus have been expressed publicly at least by 1366. However, since the *Pro subsidio* also mentions past attempts to form an alliance with the Bulgarians, and the *De non reddenda* shows him apparently giving advice to negotiate with the Serbs, it can also be assumed that it was to some extent understood, in the late 1360s at least, that Demetrius was willing to adapt to circumstances in dealing with these two groups.

Demetrius' letters confirm this impression, although the evidence is scanty. There are few references. Mongols and Hungarians, in fact, do not figure in the letters: 'Skyth' and 'Paonian' appear only as literary terms, not as real political entities. Even with the Bulgarians and Serbs, there are difficulties: they are not normally specifically designated, but lumped together as 'barbarians'. However, the contexts often allow probable identification. L7 and L8 (to Kantakuzenos, c. Aug. 1345 and c. Oct./Nov. 1345) and L17 (c. 1344, to Manuel Kantakuzenos) all refer to 'barbarians' being confronted, and the context suggests these are references to the Serbs under Stephen Dušan. The Serbs appear as 'Triballoi' in L51 (Oct. 1352, to Ioannes Pothos), where Demetrius speaks of a victory of 'Persians' over them—that is, the battle of late 1352 mentioned above.<sup>117</sup> In L13, the more general term 'barbarian'

<sup>115</sup> See above, p. 60.

<sup>116</sup> See above, p. 16f., p. 26.

<sup>117</sup> p. 155.

is used: the context means that it can also refer to Bulgarians. A further probable reference to the Bulgarians is found in L89 (? summer 1363, to John V), which also praises a victory over 'barbarians'.<sup>118</sup>

Although they do not contain extensive information, these letters do serve to emphasise the military confrontation with the Serbs in 1350s under Dušan, and the military confrontation between Bulgaria and Byzantium in the early 1360s.<sup>119</sup> If one includes John V's difficulties with the Bulgarians in 1366/7, and earlier attempts by John V to establish favourable relations with Bulgaria, both brought out in the *Pro subsidio*, a good impression is given of the tense relationship between Byzantium and its two most important Orthodox neighbours in the 1350s and 1360s.

In a sense, it is fruitless to try to comment on Demetrius' public attitude towards these Orthodox neighbours: there is little evidence, and if the situation changed frequently, the little information available can be of only limited impact, related to specific contexts. However, it can be noted that the relevant letters belong mostly to contexts lending themselves to public presentation within court circles. This suggests, especially given Demetrius' official position in the 1350s and 1360s, that Demetrius was probably publicly associated with flexible but sceptical policies regarding Serbs and Bulgarians. This is neither surprising nor particularly controversial,<sup>120</sup> given the Byzantine history of ambivalent relations with Serbs and Bulgarians and the genuine reasons they had to fear both in this period.

*International Relations: The Latins*

On a political level, it is once again the *Pro subsidio* and the *De non reddenda Callipoli* which provide most of the information concerning Demetrius' understanding of the Latin west, as well as his policy proposals. This implies that by 1366 Demetrius 'went public' regarding his support for western aid in general and alliance with Amadeo in particular, his positive appreciation of the Latins, and his sense of strong links between east and west. The letters support this: L103 (1367/8, to Simon Atumanos)<sup>121</sup> and L36

<sup>118</sup> Tinnefeld sees this as referring to a campaign against the Bulgarian Black Sea ports. Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydonos, Briefe, Vol I, I*, pp. 321 ff.

<sup>119</sup> See above, pp. 66 f.

<sup>120</sup> As pointed out above (p. 67, note 100), Kantakuzenos seems also to have treated the Serbs and Bulgarians somewhat sceptically.

<sup>121</sup> Demetrius speaks of the duty of the 'Romans' to subsidise their 'fellow-tribesmen' (*καὶ δεῖ μᾶλλον ἐκείνους συντελεῖν τοῖς δυστυχοῦσι τῶν ὁμοφύλων*). Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydonos, Correspondance, I*, 140: 103, 28 f).

(c. 1370, to Andronikos Oinaïotes)<sup>122</sup> echo the idea that Greeks and Latins are inextricably connected, historically and in the present, and L103 speaks of ancestral Roman virtues and generosity, and shared Christian identity.<sup>123</sup> Although these comments are brief, relatively late in date and restricted in context, they suggest that Demetrius may habitually have expressed himself in such terms.

However, it is also likely that Demetrius was associated with pro-western policies and ideas long before the *Pro subsidio* in 1366. Demetrius' letters show him aware of/involvement in various developments of the early 1360s. He was aware of the activities of papal agents, particularly Philip de Bindo Incontri (L31, 1361; L 110, 1362, both to George the Philosopher<sup>124</sup>) and Peter Thomas (L31 and L97, summer 1365, also to George,<sup>125</sup> also the correspondence with Simon Atumanos). He was aware of the activities of Peter of Cyprus (L93, 1364, to Simon Atumanos;<sup>126</sup> L325, 1365/6, to John Laskaris Kalopheros<sup>127</sup>). He was involved in plans for crusade (again, L93 and L103<sup>128</sup>). Although the context of the letters cannot always be gauged accurately, and therefore their likely scope is not always clear, two particular points can be made regarding Demetrius' public association with specific ideas before 1366. First, if, as implied by the *Pro subsidio*, Demetrius was involved with John V's policies regarding Hungary, this would take his association with pro-western policies back at least to the preparations for John's trip in 1365. Second, the indications in L93 that Demetrius was pub-

<sup>122</sup> Demetrius tells Andronikos that his opposition to the Latins is misplaced, particularly given the dependence of the Byzantine legal system (Andronikos was καθολικός κριτής: see above, p. 137, note 25) on its Roman roots (Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, pp. 68 ff.).

<sup>123</sup> Roman ancestral virtues: Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, 140: 103, 33–38; Christian identity: *ibid.*, 39–50. Demetrius' use of these arguments in L103 is not designed to persuade his compatriots, but as advice to Simon as to how to persuade western powers to act with magnanimity (Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, 141: 103, 51–59).

<sup>124</sup> Both letters mention dealings between George and Philip: in L31, Demetrius mentions an earlier close association between Philip and George (see below, p. 223 note 2), while in L110 his Orthodox opponents are pleased that George is now attacking Philip (Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, 149: 110, 53 ff.).

<sup>125</sup> L31 mentions that George is now attacking the legate, and in L97 Demetrius mentions apparently open letters in which George has been critical of Peter Thomas (Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, 134: 97, 51–59).

<sup>126</sup> See below, p. 195, note 109.

<sup>127</sup> Demetrius speaks of Kalopheros' involvement with Peter of Cyprus, mentioning how he has financed Peter and now acts as a close advisor. He also asks Kalopheros to inform him of developments (Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, II*, 255).

<sup>128</sup> See above, pp. 154 f.

licly associated with ideas for crusade<sup>129</sup> imply that Demetrius was known at least by 1364, probably before, to regard active co-operation with the west as acceptable.

But in less specific terms, it is probable that Demetrius was associated with dealings with the west far earlier than this. The *Apologia I* describes his official association with Latins as beginning during Kantakuzenos' reign, with Demetrius having to deal with westerners at the Byzantine court<sup>130</sup>—that is, potentially as early as 1347. The *Apologia I*, indeed, generally assumes public awareness of Demetrius' association with the Latins, both officially and intellectually. Towards the end of the *Apologia I*, Demetrius specifically denies that there is any particularly strong (political) agreement between himself and the Latins,<sup>131</sup> and declares that if there were conflict with the Latins on any matter other than doctrinal questions he would wholeheartedly support his own people.<sup>132</sup> This, dating probably to 1363, supports the idea that there was a long-standing public awareness of Demetrius' dealings with Latins, and, crucially, that this had a political dimension.

Contact between Demetrius and westerners need not, of course, be unambiguously positive. The *Apologia I* tries to convey this, as does the *Apologia II*, which also denies culpable or unpatriotic association with Latins. There is also a strand of negative comment in Demetrius' letters. His letters to Simon Atumanos (L93, L103) show an awareness of tensions in negotiations, as well as voicing scepticism regarding proposed crusading plans and financial considerations. Demetrius is also highly critical of Venetian behaviour in L71 (1370, to Constantine Asanes).<sup>133</sup> In L21 (1371, to Manuel Palaiologos) he uses the term 'barbarian' to designate Latins.<sup>134</sup> In L131 (1371/3?, to an unnamed bishop) he distances himself from the Latins.<sup>135</sup> Moreover, some

<sup>129</sup> See above, pp. 154 f.

<sup>130</sup> ἦσαν ἐν ἐκείνοις καὶ τῶν Ἑσπερίων πολλοί, οἱ μὲν πρεσβείας τελοῦντες, οἱ δ' ἐμπορίας διατιθέντες, οἱ δ' ὡς ἔθος μισθοφοροῦντες. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 360, pp. 41 f. See also above, pp. 13 f.

<sup>131</sup> οὐτε γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ Λατίνων ἐγὼ παρὰ τούτοις ταῦτα παρρησιάζομαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ προξενία ἢ τις ἄλλη χάρις ἔστι μοι παρ' ἐκείνοις... Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 395, 47 f.

<sup>132</sup> ἐγὼ δ' εἰ μὲν περὶ τινῶν ἄλλων, ὧν πόλεσι πόλεις ἀμφισβητοῦσιν, πρὸς Ἰταλοὺς ἦν ὁ λόγος ἡμῶν, πᾶς ἂν εἶδέ με παντὸς προθυμότερον ἀμύνοντα τῇ πατρίδι. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 401, 27 ff.

<sup>133</sup> Demetrius is suspicious of Venetian motives and critical of their financial dealings (Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, pp. 102 f.).

<sup>134</sup> Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, 50: 21, 18. The scope of this is unclear; in context, it need only refer to the Venetians.

<sup>135</sup> The bishop has, in his cups, attacked both Demetrius and the Latins. Demetrius responds that the bishop may say what he likes about the Latins, but should leave Demetrius out of it (Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, 168: 131, 27–30).



of these letters (L21, L71) are quite likely to have had some level of extended audience, since they are encomiastic, addressed to an imperial figure; while Demetrius may have had cause to publicise L131, since it is intended to refute a public attack. This suggests both that Demetrius' approach to the Latins was not uncritical, and that this would have been known at least in some circles.

#### 4.3. RELIGIOUS THEMES

##### 4.3.1. *General Attitudes to the West, Including the Papacy*

Demetrius' interest in Latin language and thought—as opposed to specific political concerns discussed above—is clearly attested from his time in Kantakuzenos' service. He must have begun to learn Latin before 1353,<sup>136</sup> and quite probably well before then, possibly even in the late 1340s; his description of learning Latin in the *Apologia I* implies that it was a response to his official duties, and thus could have begun not long after he took up those duties in 1347.<sup>137</sup> His interest in Latin, and translation work, would have been well known: not only does Kantakuzenos' patronage of Demetrius' translations make it likely that they came to public attention,<sup>138</sup> but Demetrius himself says that his learning Latin was noticed, and elicited criticism.<sup>139</sup> Therefore Demetrius' intellectual involvement with western language and thought would have been known at least by the early 1350s, quite possibly before.

The *Apologia I*, however, gives a much fuller account of Demetrius' stance on Latin thought. As described in Chapter 2, it is forthright: it speaks favourably of Latin learning, of the Latin fathers, of Latin doctrine, of the role and necessary authority of the papacy, and negatively regarding the contemporary Greek situation. The *Apologia I* dates probably to 1363, and, as has been discussed earlier, was apparently designed to be publicised, if not in its full form, at least in terms of its central ideas, thus suggesting

<sup>136</sup> Given the information regarding the translation of the *SGC*. See above, pp. 16 f.

<sup>137</sup> Demetrius also says that he was already closely acquainted with his Dominican teacher, prior to his decision to learn Latin: οὗτος δὴ με καὶ πρότερον φιλῶν καὶ πάνν προσκειμένους... Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 361, 68.

<sup>138</sup> See above, p. 140.

<sup>139</sup> λόγος ἔρρει διὰ τῶν βασιλείων ὡς ἄρα ὁ δεῖνα μαίνοιτο τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ἐπιχειρῶν, τὴν τε γὰρ ἡλικίαν κωλύσειν ἔλεγον μὴ δεχομένην τὰ παιδῶν μαθήματα, τὸν τε βασιλέα οὐ συγχωρήσειν ἄλλοσε μεταθήσειν αὐτὸν ἢν τῷ κοινῷ λειτουργίαν εἰσφέρει. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 361, 79–82.

that Demetrius 'went public' with specific ideas at least by then. It is, moreover, quite possible that such ideas were voiced publicly prior to 1363: the description of Nil Kabasilas' opposition suggests that aspects of Demetrius' approach were known at an earlier date at least to Nil, while the references to opponents refusing to speak to Demetrius,<sup>140</sup> and Demetrius' description of being involved in intellectual discussions<sup>141</sup> suggest that Demetrius' stance had been known for some time.

##### 4.3.2. *Specific Doctrinal Issues*

However, the *Apologia I* does not represent all Demetrius' theological ideas. It does not, for example, speak about Palamism, or about the heyschasts, and it is at times ambiguous on the question of the *filioque*. Specific questions must therefore be considered separately.

##### *The Filioque*

*Apologias I, II* and *III* testify clearly to Demetrius' acceptance of the *filioque* as orthodox and compatible with Christian tradition. Since all three, as discussed above,<sup>142</sup> are likely to have been of a public nature, Demetrius can be assumed to be publicly associated with this from c. 1363 onwards, although it should be emphasised that acceptance of the doctrine as orthodox need not imply rejection of the Orthodox version, but only declaration of compatibility.

Whether Demetrius expressed this in public earlier is unclear, although it is probable that even if he did not express it directly, he would have been associated with the idea. His translations would have associated him with western explanations of the *filioque* at least by 1354, meaning that suspicious observers are likely to have suspected him of approving the doctrine even if he made no outright assertions, simply because he demonstrated an implied approval of western thought. Moreover, L378 (1356?, to Nil Kabasilas),<sup>143</sup> in which Demetrius asks Nil about the *filioque*, makes this even more likely: although the letter does not commit Demetrius to a particular stance, it does imply that Demetrius was debating the issue, and hence probably expressing doubt publicly, even if his full approbation of the doctrine only became clear over time.

<sup>140</sup> Above, p. 121.

<sup>141</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 363 ff.

<sup>142</sup> p. 144.

<sup>143</sup> Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, II*, pp. 326 f.

*Palamism, Philotheos and the Hesychasts*

As has been pointed out, the *Apologia I* does not address the issue of hesychasm. The other three apologies are, however, vocal on the subject, making it clear that, from 1371, Demetrius' opposition to Palamite doctrine of the energies, which he characterised as polytheistic, was well publicised. The *Oration to John Palaiologos* mentions Demetrius' refusal to subscribe to the doctrine as causing much hostility towards him.<sup>144</sup>

Letters from the early 1370s bear this out. Some approach the subject in terms of monotheism versus polytheism, while others speak more of conflict between Prochoros and Philotheos.<sup>145</sup> L116 (1372/3?, to Demetrius Angelos Manikaïtes), for example, contrasts Demetrius' traditional monotheism with Palamite ideas, while L151 (c. 1371/2, to Theodore Meleteniotes) attacks Theodore for speaking against Prochoros, and L400 (1371/2, to the monk Joasaph (i.e. Kantakuzenos)) criticises Kantakuzenos for publishing an attack on Prochoros without giving Demetrius a chance to read it and respond. L39 (1369/70, to Prochoros) mentions the Latin response: Demetrius says that there are those in Rome who criticise Greek doctrinal innovation and see the barbarians' advance as divine punishment for it.<sup>146</sup> Some of these letters seem intended for wide publication,<sup>147</sup> giving an impression that Demetrius was prepared and eager to communicate his ideas to both friend and foe.

Demetrius' confrontation with Philotheos over Prochoros also indicates that Demetrius spoke out in public against Palamas—and Philotheos—before the journey to Rome. Although the *Apologia IV* dates to after Demetrius' return in 1371, it assumes previous confrontation, and L129 (1368, to Philotheos) gives substance to the idea, with Demetrius accusing Philotheos of breaking promises, of cowardice, of ignorance, of abandoning ancient Christian teachings, of false accusations, of slander; at least some of this is connected to the Palamite dispute.

There are other early indications of Demetrius supporting Prochoros and opposing Philotheos, although not in quite such tense circumstances. In L96

<sup>144</sup> See above, p. 128.

<sup>145</sup> As described above, pp. 124 ff.

<sup>146</sup> τὰς γὰρ οὐ καλὰς ἡμῖν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι περὶ τοῦ θείου δόξας προφέρουσι, καὶ τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν νεωτερισμὸν, καὶ δικὴν τούτων τῶν βαρβάρων ὕβριν καλοῦσι. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 73: 39, 36 ff.

<sup>147</sup> For example, in writing to Theodore Meleteniotes, Demetrius was writing to the διδάσκαλος τῶν διδασκάλων, a man with a guaranteed audience, who had used his audience to speak against Prochoros. L400, to Kantakuzenos, makes it clear that Demetrius was seeking to convey his message to as wide an audience as possible, in a situation in which his opponents had been doing the same.

(Spring 1365, to George Synadenos Astras), Demetrius berates Astras for not using his authority on Athos to protect Prochoros, and in L99 (1365–?March 1368) Demetrius sympathises with a persecuted friend, where the persecutor is apparently Philotheos.<sup>148</sup> These do not add much to Demetrius' theological position, but simply illustrate further Demetrius' confrontation with Philotheos.

Prochoros' trial and condemnation were deliberately public. Prochoros' difficulties began to develop around 1365, and came to a head with his trial in 1368, the official version of which is recorded in the Tome of 1368, written by Philotheos.<sup>149</sup> It is noticeable both that Demetrius is most insistent and consistent in his anti-Palamite views from 1368 onwards, and that hints of practical taking of sides first appear in 1365. What this suggests is that Demetrius would inevitably have been associated with anti-Palamism throughout the process, and that after 1368 he had nothing to lose by expressing himself publicly.

It is more difficult, however, to gauge Demetrius' earlier public stance on Palamas and hesychasm. In the *Apologia IV*, for example, Demetrius accuses Philotheos of failing to keep a promise, made when he returned to the patriarchate in 1364, not to persecute anyone who refused to sign up to Palamism.<sup>150</sup> This might imply that Demetrius was defending such people at this earlier point; that he was recognisedly anti-Palamite. However, it does not mean he was necessarily outspoken on the subject; it may simply indicate a recognition amongst moderates that there was a need to play down the controversy, and this, if anything, increases the likelihood that Demetrius himself was restrained on the subject, thus decreasing the likelihood of clear public association with anti-Palamism.

There are, nonetheless, some comments in Demetrius' letters which hint at a more general distaste for certain aspects of hesychasm even before Prochoros' difficulties. There are, for example, the cases where Demetrius speaks disparagingly of people with 'beards': in L88 (1347/8, unnamed recipient<sup>151</sup>) and L50 (c. 1356, to Alexios Kassandrenos<sup>152</sup>). In another case,

<sup>148</sup> See Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, 2*, pp. 616 ff.

<sup>149</sup> See Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, 1*, pp. 238 ff. Also above, p. 46.

<sup>150</sup> See below, pp. 238 f.

<sup>151</sup> In a passage praising Kantakuzenos' intellectual abilities, Demetrius refers to ignorant, bearded monks in Constantinople (οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοὺς πάγωνας ἡσυχώτες καὶ τῷ τριβῶνι καὶ τῷ προκατεληφέναι τὴν παιδείαν ὀριζόμενοι—πολὸν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ θηρίον ἢ θαναμαστὴ Πόλις βόσκει.... Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 122: 88, 24 ff).

<sup>152</sup> Demetrius speaks of a plethora of doctrinal opinions in Constantinople (Εἰς ἐνταῦθα μόνον πλοῦτος, ὁ τῶν δογμάτων....καὶ νῦν ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ γόνατα τὸ κακὸν αἴρεται, σιωπῶντος μὲν οὐδενός, πάντων δὲ ῥᾶον περὶ τῶν θείων ἢ τῶν ἰδίων φιλοσοφούντων.

in L30 (1362/3, to Manuel Raul Metochites), Demetrius speaks of ‘initiates’ for whom all reasoning is inimical, and who instead rely on experience and feeling.<sup>153</sup> These comments appear, in the context of the mid-fourteenth century, specifically anti-hesychast. What can they say about Demetrius’ position, and the ideas with which he may have been associated?

One thing that is clear is that both the comments about ‘beards’ and the comments in L30 are directed against people regarded as militantly anti-intellectual. L88 and L50, however, also refer to a plethora of opinions being voiced. This contrasts with the single-issue arguments found in Demetrius’ later anti-Palamite utterances. It is also not a natural way of attacking Palamas himself, who was by no means unconditionally anti-intellectual,<sup>154</sup> even Demetrius, who regards Palamas as intellectually deficient, does not accuse him of militant anti-intellectualism, and he does not seem to have regarded Kantakuzenos, Isidore Boucheiras and Nil Kabasilas—all of whom were closely associated with Palamism and support of hesychasm—in this light. These references, therefore, might be better understood as primarily representing an attack on those who denied the validity of rational thought, rather than a general attack on Palamites or hesychasts.

These letters, in any case, do not belong to contexts which suggest wide circulation. They are addressed to people Demetrius considers like-minded; even if the letters were ‘shared’ around a circle, this need not have been more than an intimate, favourable circle. This contrasts with later letters (L116, L129, L151, L400), sent to prominent opponents likely to have had access to a wide audience and interest in publicising their opposition to Demetrius. This suggests that if Demetrius *had* wanted to promote his anti-Palamite arguments earlier he would have gone about it in a different way. Moreover, in L53 (btwn 1351–1365), Demetrius advises an unnamed anti-Palamite to be circumspect in expressing his opinions publicly,<sup>155</sup> and L30 (1362/3, to

Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 84f.: 50, 32–35), which makes him envy Alexios, who is not troubled by ignorant, bearded men in this way (πάγωνας άλλως ὄρων περιφερομένους ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλείων, ὃν τὸ πάντ’ ἀγνοεῖν ὡσπερ ἄλλο τι σύμβολόν ἐστι τῆς ἀρετῆς. Ibid., 36f.).

<sup>153</sup> τοῖς γὰρ αὐτῶν μυσταγωγοῖς λόγος μὲν ἅπας ἐχθρός, ἡ πείρα δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντα δύναται καὶ ἡ αἰσθησις. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 60: 30, 32f.

<sup>154</sup> See, e.g., Papadakis, A. (in collaboration with J. Meyendorff), *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy*, (St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, NY, 1994), pp. 296 f.; Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 100f.

<sup>155</sup> Demetrius advises his friend to say nothing regarding the Tomes and their authors (φείδου μέντοι τῶν τόμων, καὶ μὴ βούλου κακῶς λέγειν τοὺς συγγραφεὰς ἐκεῖνων... Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 86: 53, 8f.).

Manuel Raul Metochites) echoes this caution. Demetrius may have exercised similar caution. These factors combine to support the idea that Demetrius avoided confrontation over Palamism before c. 1365.

It is difficult to find evidence of Demetrius enunciating specific opposition to Palamas’ doctrine prior to the process against Prochoros. He did not subscribe to the Palamite Tomes, but it may be that he was not vociferous on this point. It was probably known that he was sceptical about some developments, and that his scepticism was informed by his intellectual interests. His rejection of opposition to the role of rational discourse, for example, is expressed in the *Apologia I*. But in the *Apologia I* this is expressed with relation to Latin theology, not Palamism. Although Demetrius may indeed have long been publicly associated with anti-Palamism, there is nothing to prove this.

#### 4.4. NORMATIVE RELATIONS

Moreover, if an accurate representation is to be given of the implications of Demetrius’ more controversial opinions, consideration must also be given to the more normative aspects of Demetrius’ situation. Without this, over-emphasis on controversial episodes and opinions might lead to an inaccurate impression of his position. Demetrius’ writings show a range of relationships and preoccupations, many of which apparently unaffected by controversial questions, others of which demonstrate that the response to his opinions and activities must have been varied, and not necessarily predictable in terms of recognised factions.

On the one hand, Demetrius evidently maintained good relations with leading Orthodox figures. His relationship with Kantakuzenos can be understood in this light, apart from the disagreement over Kantakuzenos’ attack on Prochoros,<sup>156</sup> as can his relationship with Helena and Manuel II.<sup>157</sup> His letters to the ‘hesychast’ patriarch Isidore (L43, 1346 and L86, 1347) demonstrate close personal ties and respect. His letters to Nicholas Kabasilas (L87 (1347), L124 and L125 (both 1363), and L126 (?1371/2)) show an affectionate, close relationship, with no evidence of religious disagreement; Demetrius even sent Nicholas one of his (Demetrius’) sermons in the late 1370s/early 1380s.<sup>158</sup> If L1 is, as Tinnefeld suggests, addressed to George Perdikes, this

<sup>156</sup> Above, p. 143.

<sup>157</sup> Above, pp. 152 f.

<sup>158</sup> Above, p. 141.

shows Demetrius sending another text (the *De contemnenda*) to a dedicated Palamite.<sup>159</sup> L378, to Nil Kabasilas, is expressed in respectful, even affectionate language.<sup>160</sup> L108 (1363, to George Synadenos Astras) and L156 (1370s, unnamed recipient), even show Demetrius attempting to act as a patron of the Lavra on Athos—that is, patronising his brother's monastery, both before and after Prochoros' trial.

On the other hand, there is Demetrius' correspondence with rather more controversial figures. L123 (before 1341) shows Demetrius trying to make contact with Gregoras.<sup>161</sup> A range of letters are evidently to fellow anti-Palamites, some of whom named (John Kyparriotes, Constantine Asanes, George the Philosopher), some unnamed. Moreover, his correspondence with George the Philosopher (six letters from the period under discussion), John Laskaris Kalopheros (four), Maximos Kalopheros (L72, 1347) and John Kyparriotes (L35, 1371/2) shows him in close contact with various colourful figures of doubtful Orthodoxy or decisive pro-Latin theological opinions. However, it was not simply religious considerations which made some of these figures controversial. In the case of Maximos Kalopheros, for example, it is reasonable to emphasise the religious aspect,<sup>162</sup> but in the case of his brother, John, although he was very publicly involved with the west, Demetrius portrays his initial difficulties as primarily political.<sup>163</sup>

So Demetrius corresponded with prominent Orthodox figures, often without confrontation, as well as figures of more varied hue. To establish the details of these various relationships would require individual consideration, and even then perhaps not lead to solid conclusions. However, even superficial consideration is enough to show that Demetrius' career was predicated on a background of extensive acquaintance, across various religious and political divides. Even to those not privy to his correspondence this would probably have been quite evident, particularly in the case of Demetrius' relationship with figures associated with Thessalonica, such as Kantakuzenos, Isidore, Nil and Nicholas. This demonstrates that rational,

<sup>159</sup> Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, 2*, pp. 469 f. Also above, p. 141.

<sup>160</sup> Above, p. 161.

<sup>161</sup> Gregoras, although a renowned and respected Byzantine scholar, was also an outspoken opponent of Palamas. PLP 4443.

<sup>162</sup> Before 1347, Maximos opposed Palamas and was associated with Akindynos. In 1347, he fled to Athos, where he came into contact with Palamas, and by 1350 was won over to Palamism. In 1355 he returned to pro-unionist tendencies. For a summary of his movements: Loenertz, 'Démétrius Cydonès, 1: De la naissance à l'année 1373', p. 52. Also PLP 10733.

<sup>163</sup> In L73, Demetrius describes Kalopheros' crime as that of having made a matrimonial alliance with John V's enemies. According to Eszer (*Das abenteuerliche Leben des Johannes Laskaris Kalopheros*, pp. 17 ff.), he married a daughter of Matthew Kantakuzenos.

affectionate relationships could exist openly despite religious differences. Moreover, Demetrius' connections with leading Orthodox figures may have gone some way to mitigate negative fallout from association with more controversial people and opinions.

It is also possible that Demetrius' own approach facilitated easy relations, despite religious differences. This was hinted at above, when it was mentioned that Demetrius advised others to be non-confrontational.<sup>164</sup> In L53, Demetrius illustrates this by referring to one of Aesop's fables: better to emulate the reed, which survives because it does not attempt to stand up in the face of the wind.<sup>165</sup> In L30 (1362/3, to Manuel Raul Metochites), expresses similar concerns: Metochites should be non-confrontational when dealing with those who are opposed to reason, and thus not provoke attacks.<sup>166</sup> To some extent Demetrius undermines this immediately, by admitting that he himself finds it difficult not to rise to the bait.<sup>167</sup> However, it still implies that Demetrius recognised the general inadvisability of being confrontational, and that he at least tried to keep his opinions low key—not necessarily by denying or obscuring them, but by not provoking conflict.

In some senses, this contradicts much of what has been said, particularly about the 'public' intent of the speeches and apologias. Demetrius does not, on the face of it, seem to have been particularly coy about his opinions. However, the important distinction here may be between deliberate confrontation and provocation in hostile environments, and simply setting out a positive representation of one's own views. This seems to be what Demetrius is suggesting in his letter to Manuel Raul Metochites: not that Metochites should necessarily hide his own opinions, but that he should not be confrontational about them in a context in which he will provoke others against him.

Demetrius' confrontation with Philotheos does not necessarily contradict this. As has been seen, Demetrius does not seem to have attacked Philotheos until the late 1360s. This contrasts with his association with Latin thought and pro-Latin policies, which evidently developed much earlier. Philotheos

<sup>164</sup> pp. 164 f.

<sup>165</sup> ἐνθυμοῦ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον πολίτην φιλόσοφον, ὃς τοῖς καλάμοις αὐτὸν εἰκάξων ἔλεγε ζῆν, οἱ μὴ φιλονεικοῦντες πρὸς τοὺς ἀνέμους τηροῦσιν αὐτοὺς, τῶν δρυῶν καὶ τῶν κέδρων ἀνασπασμένων. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 87: 53, 16–19.

<sup>166</sup> φείδου μέντοι τῶν τάναντία λεγόντων, εἰδὼς ὡς χαλεπὸν πείθειν λόγοις τοὺς ἄπαξ ἀτιμάσαντας τὸν λόγον ἐν τούτοις... οὕτω γὰρ οὐτ' αὐτὸς δυσχερῆς δόξεις ἐκείνοις, οὗτοι τε μὴ κεντούμενοι ταῖς ἀπολογίαις ἤττον σε λυπεῖν προθυμήσονται. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 60: 30, 31–36.

<sup>167</sup> παραινῶ δέ σοι ταυτί, αὐτὸς οὐ σφόδρα πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνων λόγους δυνάμενος ἡσυχάζειν. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 60: 30, 37 f.

had been patriarch for some time by the time Demetrius wrote L129 (the first clear evidence of his attack on Philotheos), and had been directly involved with Palamism even before the Tome of 1341. Thus if Demetrius had wished to enter into controversy earlier, simply for doctrinal reasons, he would have had ample opportunity to do so. But he does not appear to have responded until Philotheos attacked Prochoros. Similar concerns apply to Demetrius' attacks on Theodore Meleteniotes and Kantakuzenos. It is not impossible that, had the situation not developed thus, Demetrius would not have directly attacked Palamism. In a sense, Demetrius' confrontation with Philotheos is the exception that proves the rule: Demetrius departed from his normal restraint only when he could not in any case avoid attack, and where he felt an urgent need to defend his brother and what he understood to be the truth.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The above discussion has interesting implications for the climate of the 1360s. What it suggests is that, far from feeling a necessity to be coy and reserved, Demetrius was in fact concerned to promote many of his ideas publicly. In some cases there is some doubt as to how early he was associated with certain ideas, but there are strong grounds for considering that most of his key ideas concerning the west, politically and theologically, were publicly associated with him at least by the mid-1360s, and quite probably long before. It is therefore possible to proceed in the following chapters on the premise that Demetrius' public career should be considered in the light of his expressed ideas.

#### CHAPTER FIVE

### CONTEXTUALISING DEMETRIUS' PRO-WESTERN APPROACH

#### INTRODUCTION

In 1274, Michael VIII Palaiologos, as part of a series of measures designed to avert Charles of Anjou's aggression against the newly re-established Byzantine empire of Constantinople, sent representatives to the Council of Lyons, where they assented, on his behalf and that of his people, to the claims of the papacy. Back in Constantinople, Michael followed through this policy, appointing a pro-unionist patriarch, and enforcing acceptance of the union through repressive measures.<sup>1</sup> Michael succeeded in averting the threat to Byzantium and securely establishing his own dynasty on the throne. However, his death in 1282 was followed by a violent anti-unionist backlash: his son, Andronikos II, was forced to abandon unionist ideas, and Michael was denied fitting Orthodox commemoration.<sup>2</sup>

In 1369, John V, Michael's great-grandson, travelled to Rome, where he made personal submission to the pope, accepting papal claims to authority and assenting to Catholic doctrine.<sup>3</sup> This came after decades of negotiations with the papacy. John's actions do not seem to have provoked any excessive reaction. His reign was by no means untroubled,<sup>4</sup> but his difficulties cannot be interpreted primarily, if at all, along confessional lines. His dealings with the papacy seem to have been reconcilable with the conditions of his period, in marked contrast to the events of the late thirteenth century.

It is unsurprising that there should be considerable difference between the reigns of Michael VIII and John V. Even a few brief comments are enough to demonstrate what very different contexts they operated in. Michael's reign was dominated by the threat from Latin powers seeking to re-establish

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Nicol, *Last Centuries*, chps. 3 & 5; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 131 f., 175 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Nicol, *Last Centuries*, chp. 6; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, chp. 7.

<sup>3</sup> See below, pp. 183 f.

<sup>4</sup> He was removed from power twice: in 1376–1379 by his son Andronikos IV, and in 1390 by his grandson, John VII. Nicol, *Last Centuries*, pp. 278–282, 291 f.

the Latin empire and thus destroy his own. By John's time, this threat had receded; the major influence in the eastern Mediterranean was the Ottoman advance, which affected both Latins and Greeks. On a political level, it is easy to see that these different concerns would lead to different responses, including re-assessment of Byzantine political alignments.

However, while the impact of political change is easily accepted, there can be a tendency to ignore the possibilities for change and variety in religious response. It is sometimes assumed, on the basis of the antiquity of many theological concepts, and the importance of tradition, that religious responses enjoy more continuity, and develop in largely pre-determined, predictable directions. But religious response can be varied and unpredictable: there are ambiguities and tensions inherent in theological discourse which can produce very different results depending on political, social and historical conditions, and individual interpretation. Religious ideas can frequently produce apparently counter-cultural manifestations capable of taking historians by surprise.

Byzantine history often suffers from a failure to appreciate this. There can be a tendency to treat Orthodoxy in broad strokes, as an undifferentiated body with defined theological and cultural assumptions, and clear historical tendencies, which make its responses predictable in given circumstances. The difficulty with this, however, is that it fails to take into account the complexity of the Orthodox world, and in particular the complexity of its historical development.

Treatment of Orthodoxy in this way, moreover, is often defined as against western Christianity, with the assumption of deep—and deepening—cultural division and polarisation. The assumption is that the polarisation, from roots in the first millennium, gathered strength over time, with attitudes hardening increasingly with each successive century. Various episodes of confrontation are seen as 'defining moments' in the development of this: the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 is one such, and Michael VIII's failed union another. Such episodes are regarded as marking the progress of increasing and irreversible hostility towards the Latins on the part of the general Byzantine population.

On this basis, signs of co-operation between Byzantium and the west in the fourteenth century must automatically be regarded as culturally unacceptable, however politically and economically necessary. Anyone actively promoting such co-operation must be doing so in opposition to popular opinion. John V's negotiations with the papacy and western powers, to be discussed below, are frequently seen in this light: necessitated by circumstances, generally repugnant to the population but tolerated because of

the emergency. Positive ideological assessment of the Latins, such as that found in Demetrius' writings, must on this reading be seen as fundamentally counter-cultural, credible only to a small minority of the political elite, with little or no popular support: it cannot be read as bearing upon mainstream developments in Byzantine society.

Certainly, it would be misleading to interpret Catholic-Orthodox relations in the fourteenth century as irenic. There clearly was a basic cultural hostility towards the Latins on the part of the Greeks, and vice versa. Byzantine society, as a human society, naturally had its share of negative human responses—fundamentalism, chauvinism, insularity, bigotry, xenophobia, jealousy—which played a part in attitudes towards the west. Specific problems arising from institutional division, theological disagreement and historical grievances also combined to make the situation difficult, and there certainly existed a strong tradition of vociferous Orthodox opposition to the west. But to take this as the sole expression of Byzantine relations with the west, to the exclusion of other approaches, would be akin to understanding Franco-British relations in terms of British tabloid journalism. Although the opposition is important, it does not define the whole situation; there are numerous other ways of reading the situation. In the case of Byzantium, the east-west polarisation can be interpreted on many levels, and at times observable developments can be best understood, at least in short-term analysis, by seeing east and west in terms of connections rather than divisions.

To illustrate this, this chapter will look at the context of Demetrius' ideas and activities in the 1350s and 1360s. It will first give a brief résumé of Byzantine relations with the papacy and the west more generally in the period, before then examining how Demetrius' career relates to these developments. Finally, it will discuss tentatively how pro-western ideas might have fitted into wider Byzantine developments. Were such ideas restricted to a small group within Byzantine society, and generally out of step with Byzantine culture, or is it misleading to envisage the situation in such terms?

#### 5.1. THE GENERAL BACKGROUND: BYZANTINE-PAPAL/BYZANTINE-LATIN RELATIONS

There is considerable literature on the subject of Byzantine diplomatic relations with western powers, including the papacy, written from various perspectives. The question, indeed, is so integral to attempts to discuss Late Byzantine developments that this strand runs through all serious works dealing with the period. For present purposes, however, at least in terms of

internal Byzantine development, many of these works are of limited value, since for the most part—with one notable exception<sup>5</sup>—they give minimal attention to the detail of the response elicited in the 1350s to 1370s. Since the period was one of rapid change, and therefore of transition on many levels, many of these works have only limited relevance for this study.<sup>6</sup>

This having been said, some trends of the 1350s–1370s, particularly those relating to Byzantium's position in international relations, can be seen developing in earlier decades. It is not the purpose here to analyse these earlier developments in detail; however, some indication needs to be given of the key points of the background, in order to better situate what followed in the reign of John V.

The first point to emphasise is that communication between Byzantium and the papacy, which suffered as a result of Michael VIII's actions, had been improving well before John V's reign. The first set of resumed negotiations<sup>7</sup> was apparently between Andronikos II and John XXII in 1324–1327.<sup>8</sup> This was followed, during Andronikos III's reign (1328–1341), by two principal episodes, one in 1333/1334,<sup>9</sup> the other in

<sup>5</sup> Halecki, O., *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome. Vingt ans de travail pour l'union des églises et pour la défense de l'empire d'Orient, 1355–1375* (Variorum reprint, London, 1972) (= reprint of 1930 edition), which focuses on 1355 to 1376—from the establishment of John V's rule to the Great Schism in the west—but also considers earlier developments.

<sup>6</sup> Earlier material cannot speak directly for the period, since it does not take into account the effects of the civil and military disruptions of the 1340s and 1350s; while later material, from the 1370s onwards, belongs to a context in which the Ottoman presence in Europe and suzerainty over the region was substantially established, and therefore responses developed accordingly.

<sup>7</sup> There were also numerous contacts in earlier periods, before Michael VIII, especially in the 13th century, many of which set precedents for later contacts. See Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, esp. chps. I–VI; also idem., 'Eleven Emperors of Byzantium' pp. 72–84, passim.

<sup>8</sup> Omont, H., 'Projet de réunion des Eglises grecque et latine sous Charles le Bel en 1327', in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 53 (1892), pp. 254–257 and idem., 'Lettre d'Andronic II Paléologue au pape Jean XXII', in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 67 (1906), p. 587; also Nicol, *Last Centuries*, p. 173; Halecki, *Empereur*, p. 11; Laiou, A.E., 'Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks: the background to the anti-Turkish League of 1332–1334', *Speculum* 45 (1970), pp. 381 ff. and eadem., *Constantinople and the Latins. The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1972), pp. 308–329; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 192 f. Laiou regards Andronikos' approach both as genuine and as consonant with a sound assessment of the mood of his people. On this latter point, see esp. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latin*, p. 328.

<sup>9</sup> In 1333, Andronikos used two Dominicans as messengers to John XXII. They returned to Constantinople in 1334 to continue negotiations. Halecki, *Empereur*, pp. 11 f.; Nicol, D.M., 'Byzantine requests for an oecumenical council in the fourteenth century', *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 1 (1969), pp. 73–76; Meyendorff, J., 'Barlaam de Calabre. Un mauvais theologien de l'unité au XIVe siècle', in *L'Église et les églises: neuf siècles de douloureuse separation entre*

1337/9.<sup>10</sup> The civil war of 1341–1347 and Kantakuzenos' seizure of power in 1347 created some confusion, since they created an unstable situation and alternative parties to negotiations. Nevertheless, communication continued, with increased scope, to judge from a series of letters of Clement VI dating to 1343, which address various sectors of the Byzantine population.<sup>11</sup> Kantakuzenos also saw the importance of maintaining relations with the papacy: he speaks of sending emissaries to Clement VI in 1347,<sup>12</sup> and these negotiations appear also in papal archives,<sup>13</sup> although without clear results.<sup>14</sup> In any case, Kantakuzenos continued to see advantage in dealing with the papacy: a letter sent to Clement VI in 1352 received a favourable response from Innocent VI<sup>15</sup> (Clement died in December 1352), and the rest of Kantakuzenos' reign saw considerable correspondence between him and Innocent.<sup>16</sup>

Various themes emerge from these negotiations, many of which prefigure later developments. One is the willingness of emperors to express

*l'Orient et l'Occident; études et travaux sur l'unité chrétienne offerts à Dom Lambert Beauduin* (Éditions de Chevetogne, Paris, 1954), pp. 48 f.; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 194.

<sup>10</sup> In January 1337, Benedict XII wrote to Andronikos III (Vidal, J.M., *Benoît XII. Lettres communes analysées d'après les registres d'Avignon et du Vatican*, vol. III (Paris, 1911), no. 1199), and to Andronikos' wife, Anne of Savoy and Anne's half-brother, Aymon of Savoy, encouraging them to support this project (ibid., nos. 1200–1201). Debates were then held in Constantinople in 1339 (Bosch, U.V., *Kaiser Andronikos III Palaiologos: Versuch einer Darstellung der byzantinischen Gesellschaft in den Jahren 1321–1341* (A.M. Hakker, Amsterdam, 1965), pp. 141 f.), after which an embassy was sent to Avignon, headed by Barlaam (Nicol, 'Byzantine requests for an oecumenical council', pp. 76–81; Halecki, *Empereur*, p. 12; Giannelli, C., 'Un progetto di Barlaam Calabro per l'unione delle chiese', *SeT* 3 (1947), pp. 157–208; Meyendorff, 'Barlaam de Calabre'; Bosch, *Kaiser Andronikos III Palaiologos*, pp. 142–145).

<sup>11</sup> Halecki, *Empereur*, p. 17, with references. Also Geanakoplos, D.J. 'Byzantium and the Crusades, 1251–1354', in Hazard, H.W. (ed.), *A History of the Crusades, Volume III: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1975), pp. 57 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Schopen, *Ioannis Cantacuzeni Eximperatoris Historiarum Liber IV*, pp. 53 f. Kantakuzenos also describes how Bartholomew, a papal representative in Constantinople (Loenertz, R.-J., 'Ambassadeurs grecs auprès du Pape Clement VI (1348)', *OCP* 19 (1953), pp. 189 f.) intervened to avert an attack on Byzantium by the marquis of Montferrat. Schopen, *Ioannis Cantacuzeni Eximperatoris Historiarum Liber IV*, pp. 12–20.

<sup>13</sup> Text: Loenertz, 'Ambassadeurs grecs'. The documents include (a) a report delivered to Clement VI of discussions held in Constantinople in September and October 1347, (b) a letter of Kantakuzenos to Clement, 22nd September 1347 and (c) a further report delivered to Clement VI stating the Byzantine position, 5th March 1348.

<sup>14</sup> Kantakuzenos says that Clement VI was favourably disposed to his suggestions (Schopen, *Ioannis Cantacuzeni Eximperatoris Historiarum Liber IV*, p. 62, 14–18), but this is not supported by papal records.

<sup>15</sup> 15th March, 1353. Halecki, *Empereur*, pp. 18 f. In the letter, Innocent displays considerable concern for developments in the east.

<sup>16</sup> Halecki, *Empereur*, pp. 18–21.

some acknowledgement of papal claims.<sup>17</sup> The limited information regarding Andronikos II's approaches to the papacy suggests he was restrained in his terminology and undertakings, albeit generally positive and willing to negotiate.<sup>18</sup> Barlaam's mission of 1339 is ambiguous: although the project assumes a genuine quest for union on the part of Andronikos III, Barlaam also says he is only speaking on behalf of the emperor, with no popular mandate.<sup>19</sup> However, it does demonstrate that Byzantium was continuing to send out positive, if imprecise, signals on the question of union. This appears also in the case of Anne of Savoy's regime: Clement VI seems to have thought the issue was being put to him in a positive light. However, it is particularly clear with Kantakuzenos. According to the reports of the negotiations in Constantinople in 1347,<sup>20</sup> Kantakuzenos was prepared to assert obedience to the papacy and commitment to union, on his own behalf and that of John V.<sup>21</sup> Kantakuzenos is even reported willing to commit himself and his empire to the pope in the hope of a peaceful resolution to the dispute.<sup>22</sup>

Another theme of the negotiations is that opposition of the majority of the population impeded progress. The comments in Andronikos II's letter to Benedict of Como have already been mentioned;<sup>23</sup> the idea is also found

<sup>17</sup> This can also be observed in earlier negotiations, such as those of the 13th century. Gill, 'Eleven Emperors', pp. 75 ff.

<sup>18</sup> His letter to John XXII (Omont, 'Lettre d'Andronic II Paléologue au pape Jean XXII'), although expressing a sense of papal dignity and the reverence owed by the emperor to the papacy, does not employ striking phraseology such as is found in later decades, and the question of union is approached tentatively: e.g. Andronikos' letter to Benedict of Como responds to Benedict's advances (*invitantes nos ut velemus facere et hoperari illa que essent ad pacificum statum ecclesie Dei*) by declaring general willingness (*hoc nobis etiam desiderabile est, si posset fieri de benivolentia principis pax [ecclesie] Christi*), but indicating that the attitude of Andronikos' subjects makes it difficult (*Sed hoc invenimus difficiliter fieri posse propter suspicionem quam haber[et] [gen]eraliter populus noster*). Omont, 'Projet de réunion des Eglises grecque et latine', p. 255.

<sup>19</sup> *Scitote et hoc, quia nunc non communis populus Graecorum misit me, ut quaeram a vobis auxilium et unionem; sed imperator solus secrete qui nisi prius mittatur auxilium ad partes illas, non poterit se manifestare plebi suae, quod vult vestram unionem*. Bosch, *Kaiser Andronikos III Palaiologos*, p. 143, note 2, citing the Latin text of Barlaam's presentation, from Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 1339, no. 23.

<sup>20</sup> See above, p. 173, note 13.

<sup>21</sup> *Item quod dominus Imperator de consensu paleologi Imperatoris filii scribit in suis litteris bulla aurea munitis. . . . domino nostro pape dando titulum debitum, et recognoscens primatum et universalitatem Romane ecclesie, et sic profitetur et intendit semper et in perpetuum profiteri et scribere*. Loenertz, 'Ambassadeurs grecs', p. 181, 31–36.

<sup>22</sup> *Super discordia que est in fide Imperator commiccit se et Imperium in manu domini pape, ut ipsemet et sua (anticitatis) discernat possibilem modum et viam sine sanguinis effusione et sine periculo animarum et corporum*. Ibid., p. 182, 51–55.

<sup>23</sup> Above, note 18.

in his letter to Charles le Bel.<sup>24</sup> Barlaam also mentioned it in 1339, when he said he could speak only for the emperor, not for the wider population.<sup>25</sup> This idea is a recurrent motif in imperial-papal correspondence, and can be taken as a clear indication that the general (Orthodox) population was indeed in general opposed to any dealings with the west.

Whether the idea should be read as indicating a general truth is, however, debatable. Regarding Andronikos II's negotiations, Marino Sanudo Torsello,<sup>26</sup> writing in 1334, on one level seems to support it when he says that Andronikos could not commit himself because the civil disturbances of the time made the negotiations too dangerous.<sup>27</sup> But this may mean more that it was inadvisable to introduce additional destabilizing factors into an already tense situation, rather than that opposition to dealings with the papacy necessarily constituted a determining factor under more normative conditions. Andronikos II did in any case contact the papacy, which suggests that some level of contact was not automatic political suicide. Moreover, that Andronikos III embarked upon apparently public negotiations early in his reign implies a degree of acceptance of such dealings under normative conditions. Barlaam's mission also supports this, despite the secrecy motif: it is difficult to believe, if there were discussions in Constantinople prior to his departure, that the *fact* of the mission was secret. Barlaam's reference to secrecy probably relates to the *content* of the negotiations, which were, after all, militarily and diplomatically sensitive.

However, there is also another consideration. When Barlaam speaks of secrecy, he qualifies his comment: he cannot speak for the Byzantine population *unless* western aid is sent. This association of Byzantine opposition with the necessity for military aid is not confined to Barlaam, but found repeatedly in the various negotiations. The papacy is presented with the prospect of union, then told that the people are not willing, although the emperor is, then told that the people could be persuaded by military support. Popular opposition is being used as an argument for military aid. To jump from this to the conclusion that popular opposition is purely a rhetorical device is to

<sup>24</sup> *Qualem autem habet difficultatem in nobis et populo nobis subjecto ipsam pacem ecclesiastici status posse fieri diligenter et certe comprehendit frater dominus Benedictus. . .* Omont, 'Projet de réunion des Eglises grecque et latine', p. 256.

<sup>25</sup> See above, p. 174, note 19. Also Kolbaba, 'Byzantine Perceptions of Latin Religious "Errors"', p. 117.

<sup>26</sup> On Marino Sanudo Torsello, see Atiya, *The crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, chp. VI.

<sup>27</sup> Laiou, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks', p. 383; the civil disturbances being the conflict between Andronikos II and his grandson, the future Andronikos III (see Nicol, *Last Centuries*, chp. 10).



go too far. However, it does raise questions about how far these comments indicate that popular opposition determined the situation. The comments themselves imply that Catholic military aid could sway the population, or sufficiently suppress opposition. If such analysis is in any way credible, therefore, it cannot be taken as evidence of irreversible opposition to the west. And if it is not credible, it cannot in any case be taken as reliable evidence that popular opposition was paramount.

The various documents also indicate that at times a wide involvement of the Byzantine population was considered possible. Benedict XII's letter to Andronikos III (Jan 1337)<sup>28</sup> says that he had been informed by Stephen Dandolo of strong pro-unionist sentiment amongst the Greeks. Clement VI's letters of 1343 suggest he had grounds to think it profitable to address a wide target audience.<sup>29</sup> This can be read as wishful thinking, and evidence of papal failure to understand the situation. But when it comes to Kantakuzenos, his negotiations give little indication of secrecy or undue caution. If, as it would seem, Kantakuzenos did continue negotiations quite openly, this suggests that he did not see dealings with the papacy as fundamentally dangerous—despite his dubious claims to legitimacy, which must have urged caution.

This is not to deny the existence of opposition to the papacy and the west. What is being suggested is simply that the character and scope of such opposition may have varied over time, and that it was not automatically a determining factor. The continuity of negotiations from the 1320s onwards supports this: it is difficult to believe that opponents were unaware of the fact of negotiations, but they nevertheless continued, in despite, it would seem, of any opposition. The emperors were, of course, under pressure from other quarters, which might have forced them to risk unpopularity in the hope of specific returns. However, had opposition to the west been overwhelming, it is still likely that the emperors would have been rather more cautious, in the interests of immediate political survival. One would also expect to see the different parties in the civil war of the 1340s attempting to exploit anti-western feeling; but both sides continued soliciting papal support. No doubt there would have been a negative reaction had there been any attempt to emulate Michael VIII; but a more measured policy of rapprochement seems to have been quite possible without alienating the population.

Moreover, another theme found in the negotiations could provide ideologically acceptable grounds for dealings with the west: the idea of a new

<sup>28</sup> Above, p. 173, note 10.

<sup>29</sup> Above, p. 173. The letters suggest that positive advances had previously been made to Clement on the question of union.

ecumenical council. This suggestion was put forward by both Barlaam<sup>30</sup> and Kantakuzenos.<sup>31</sup> The role of conciliar proposals can be variously interpreted, and the papal response to the idea was largely negative.<sup>32</sup> However, the idea at least shows that theological grounds could be found for positive engagement with the papacy. The mere suggestion of a council implies recognition of a shared tradition; it implies acceptance that the west, though in error, is potentially orthodox Christian. Given this, negotiations can be not only acceptable, but desirable. Orthodox theologians could agree with this, without agreeing to any change in doctrine or tradition, and by extension this could also influence the attitude taken by the Orthodox population. The idea of a council thus shows that even the hard-line Orthodox need not necessarily refuse to engage with the west. This is one case in which theological principles may be capable of producing unexpected results, as suggested in the introduction to this chapter.

So by the 1350s, official negotiations between Byzantium and the papacy had considerable recent history, and there is scope for suggesting that the response of the population may have been varied. However, contacts between Byzantium and the west were not limited to this. On one level, contact with the papacy automatically brought Byzantine affairs within a greater complex of international relations. On a more immediate level, Byzantines were physically surrounded by an established western Catholic presence in the Eastern Mediterranean, ranging from trading colonies to principalities. This second level will be discussed more later, particularly with regard to the effect of fragmented regional political structures and close cultural proximity on conditions in Byzantine Greek territories. For the present, the focus will be on international developments, particularly the development of Mediterranean alliances, whether sponsored by the papacy or not.

When Demetrius, in the *Pro subsidio Latinorum*, speaks of the history of western crusading activities on behalf of the Byzantines,<sup>33</sup> he is not talking about the distant historical past, but includes relatively recent events. The fourteenth century saw much Latin military activity in the Eastern Mediterranean, which both directly and indirectly affected Byzantine fortunes. From the 1330s, western maritime presence in the region saw the formation of international 'leagues' against the Turks, partly to ensure the security of western interests, partly in connection with wider crusading projects. The first of

<sup>30</sup> Nicol, 'Byzantine requests for an oecumenical council', pp. 76–80.

<sup>31</sup> Nicol, 'Byzantine requests for an oecumenical council', pp. 82 f.

<sup>32</sup> E.g. Nicol, 'Byzantine requests for an oecumenical council', pp. 78 f.

<sup>33</sup> See above, pp. 72 ff.

these leagues, in 1332/4, numbered Andronikos III amongst its signatories,<sup>34</sup> although in the event it seems that Byzantine forces did not take part.<sup>35</sup> A similar league took Smyrna in 1344,<sup>36</sup> but without Byzantine participation.<sup>37</sup> Concern for the security of Smyrna led to further western alliances in subsequent decades, and there were frequent smaller scale expeditions by Latin fleets against Turkish targets.

Various points can be made about the impact of this on Byzantium. First, it emphasised western military potency in the region, showing it capable of organisation beyond individual interest-groups such as Venice or Genoa. This clearly could be a threat to Byzantium, but at the same time showed the Latins both willing and able to take on the Turks, thus making the idea of a defensive alliance with the Latins both advisable and desirable. The activities of the leagues would have certainly come to the attention of the Byzantine population,<sup>38</sup> and they clearly elicited some response.<sup>39</sup> Byzantine involvement in the 1332/4 league also set a precedent for co-operation with Catholic powers even without a religious settlement. Although a good relationship with the papacy had greatest potential for establishing Byzantine credentials within a system of Mediterranean alliances, Byzantium could function within regional alliances without a full settlement.

<sup>34</sup> See Laiou, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks', passim; Geanakoplos, 'Byzantium and the Crusades, 1251-1354', pp. 50 ff.; Lemerle, *L'Emirat d'Aydin*, pp. 94-99; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 195 f. On 6th September 1332, Byzantine representatives signed a treaty involving Venice and Rhodes, which envisaged the assembling of a joint fleet to operate in the region for five years (Laiou, 1970, 386). When the fleet finally assembled in September 1334, it included ships provided by the papacy, France, Rhodes, Venice and Cyprus. The fleet enjoyed some success during its brief period in existence, in particular a victory over a Turkish fleet in the gulf of Adramyttion in 1334.

<sup>35</sup> According to Gregoras, twenty ships were made ready, but not until after the main body of the fleet had been dissolved. Gregoras also says that Andronikos III was pressurised into taking part. Lemerle, *L'Emirat d'Aydin*, p. 95, with note 4; Laiou, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks', pp. 386 f.

<sup>36</sup> On this crusade, see Geanakoplos, 'Byzantium and the Crusades, 1251-1354', pp. 59 ff.; Atiya, *The crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 290-300.

<sup>37</sup> Kantakuzenos, at that time a rebel in conflict with the government of Constantinople, was an ally of Umur of Aydin, the Turkish ruler of Smyrna. Anne of Savoy's administration, although in communication with the papacy, and directly affected by the progress of the Smyrna expedition, was not in a position to participate.

<sup>38</sup> If Andronikos commissioned 20 ships for the league of 1332/4 (see above, note 35), the associated activity must have been a matter of public knowledge.

<sup>39</sup> Laurent, V., 'Action de grâces pour la victoire navale remportée sur les turcs à Adramyttion au cours de l'automne 1334', in Tomodakes, N.V. (ed.), *Εἰς μνήμην Κ. Ἀμάντου* (Athens, 1960), pp. 25-41, gives the text of a Greek thanksgiving on the subject of the battle of Adramyttion, which he suggests was a response to the arrival of the news in Constantinople. This suggests at least some awareness of the Latins' contribution.

Many of the strands found in the early fourteenth century described so far come together and find particularly clear practical expression in the reign of John V. John was clearly keen, from an early stage, to deal with the papacy. The 1343 negotiations with Clement VI were, in any case, carried out in his name; but the first independent evidence of John's approach is his chrysobull of Dec. 15th 1355, addressed to Innocent VI.<sup>40</sup> In it, John swears obedience to Innocent and commits himself to receiving papal legates and nuncios. He declares readiness to do all in his power to make his people obedient to the papacy, while alluding at the same time to difficulties and suggesting that the arrival of significant military aid would help greatly on this score.<sup>41</sup> John also makes further undertakings, including the establishment of a permanent papal legation in Constantinople, the appointment of pro-unionists to ecclesiastical positions, the opening of schools to teach Latin, and measures aimed at guaranteeing that John's successors would pursue similar policies. Although John hopes that union will be speedily accepted, he sees that this might not be possible: various conditional clauses deal with various possible outcomes, in which John makes himself liable to penalties in the event of non-compliance. The idea is raised that John, or one of his sons, should travel to the Curia to personally guarantee submission, should significant progress be delayed.

John's chrysobull has been interpreted in many ways.<sup>42</sup> It is also often seen as a significant new departure. However, it is questionable how far the chrysobull represents a novel approach. Many of its elements are neither new nor radical, when compared with earlier discussions: there are earlier cases of verbal submission to the papacy, of commitment to receiving papal envoys, of declarations of a wish to convince the Byzantine population to assent to union, and of suggestions that popular opinion could be favourably influenced by military aid. Unlike the 1339 and 1347 discussions, however, the chrysobull does not mention a council. What is also different is the presence of detailed clauses, particularly relating to methods of establishing cultural and religious links.

<sup>40</sup> Text: Tautu, A.L., *Acta Innocentii PP VI (1352-1362) e regestis Vaticanis aliisque fontibus* (Typis Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae, Rome, 1961), no. 84, pp. 151-155. See also Halecki, *Empereur*, esp. chp. 2; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 208.

<sup>41</sup> John suggests that 3 galleys be sent in reply to his embassy, of which 2 to be retained by him for 6 months; also, as negotiations progress, a further 15 transport vessels, 500 knights and 1,000 infantry.

<sup>42</sup> Gill, for example, describes it as 'at the same time fantastic and realistic' (Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 209), thus giving some idea of the difficulties of interpretation.

With regard to this latter point, however, it is possible that the differences owe more to the nature of the documents than anything else. In any case, in this regard the 1355 chrysobull bears comparison with the evidence for Kantakuzenos' dealings with Clement VI in 1347—not with the official imperial letter, but the other reports, which also broach a range of subjects, strategic and religious, and consider contingent circumstances, with considerable attention to practical detail.<sup>43</sup> What this illustrates is that allowance should be made for verbal discussion as well as official communiqués, which are only a partial account of proceedings. Given that the nature of the evidence cited above for the different negotiations varies considerably, it is possible that similar discussion of practicalities and contingencies took place in other cases, but left no trace. This is not to say that the same issues would have been discussed each time: different contexts would have raised different questions. But the detail in John's chrysobull may not be so different in character from earlier negotiations as it might seem at first glance.

A final question, before proceeding to the developments of John's reign, concerns possible links between Barlaam's contribution, including his mission in 1339, Kantakuzenos' approach during and after his (Kantakuzenos') reign, and the 1355 chrysobull. It should be noted that Kantakuzenos, Andronikos III, and Barlaam were very closely associated.<sup>44</sup> Given the connections between John V's chrysobull and Kantakuzenos' earlier negotiations, this may point to a higher level of continuity from Andronikos III's reign through to that of John V than might be expected, given the civil disturbances.

During John V's reign, there was considerable, highly public contact and cooperation with western powers. The initial evidence comes primarily from correspondence. Innocent VI responded to John's chrysobull on 21st July 1356.<sup>45</sup> Innocent also wrote to various regional Catholic powers (Venice, Genoa, Cyprus, the Hospitallers),<sup>46</sup> announcing John's declaration of alle-

<sup>43</sup> For example, suggestions were made for a possible location for a council, bearing in mind practicalities (Loenertz, 'Ambassadeurs grecs', p. 182, 63–69), and the question of expenses was also raised (e.g. *ibid.*, p. 184, 103 f.).

<sup>44</sup> Barlaam was something of a protégé of Kantakuzenos. See Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, p. 42.

<sup>45</sup> In the letter, Innocent applauds John's pledge of allegiance and commitment to work to the conversion of his people, calling these undertakings the *initia tuae conversionis*, praising John's good intent, and urging him to bring it to completion. Text: Tautu, *Acta Innocentii PP VI*, no. 84a, pp. 155–158.

<sup>46</sup> 17th July 1356. Text in Halecki, *Empereur*, pp. 358 f. See also *ibid.*, p. 54.

giance to the Catholic church,<sup>47</sup> and calling upon them to render John all assistance possible, once John has confirmed his intention *ore proprio*. Further letters show a variety of leading Latin and Greek figures involved in John's project,<sup>48</sup> although the patriarch, Kallistos, was evidently not one of them.<sup>49</sup> The papal nuncios, Peter Thomas and William Conti, set out for Constantinople towards the end of August 1356.

Papal records do not record a follow-up to this, but the *Vita* of Peter Thomas<sup>50</sup> gives an account of Peter Thomas' stay in Constantinople, as well as containing the alleged text of a second letter of John V to Innocent, dated 7th Nov 1357.<sup>51</sup> According to the *Vita*, John V, although hesitant, did receive communion from Peter Thomas, professing allegiance to the Catholic church. A number of Greek nobles were also converted.<sup>52</sup> The letter of 7th November repeats John's commitments, adding that he would have been able to progress further had Innocent sent the military aid requested, and thereby given public proof of the value of a Latin alliance as well as providing John with back-up in the event of popular unrest.

There are indications, albeit sketchy ones, that these negotiations had some short-term results: that Innocent was willing to accept John's assertions of fidelity, and that an attempt *was* made to respond to John's request for a show of military support. In May 1359, Innocent wrote letters detailing

<sup>47</sup> *Credimus... ad tuam iam pervenisse noticiam, quod magnificus princeps Iohannes Paleologus... per nuncios suos catholice fidei, quam sancta Romana tenet et docet Ecclesia, confessus est veritatem ac ipsius primatum ecclesie simpliciter recognovit.* Halecki, *Empereur*, p. 358, 3–9.

<sup>48</sup> Letters of 18th August 1356: Tautu, *Acta Innocentii PP VI*, 92 & 92a, pp. 173 ff. On these letters and the groups involved: Halecki, *Empereur*, 43–49.

<sup>49</sup> Letter of Innocent to Kallistos, 18th August 1356, Tautu, *Acta Innocentii PP VI*, no. 91, pp. 171 f. In the letter, Innocent rejoices over John's adherence to the Catholic church, regrets the absence of a complementary letter from Kallistos, and commends the papal envoys to the patriarch.

<sup>50</sup> By Philippe de Mezières. Edition: Smet, J. (ed.), *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mezières* (Institutum Carmelitanum, Rome, 1954). On Philippe, see Jorga, N., *Philippe de Mezières, 1327–1405, et la croisade au XIVe siècle* (Émile Bouillon, Paris, 1896). For a brief account of the context of the *Vita*, which was written c. 1366, see Smet, *Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, pp. 27–33.

<sup>51</sup> Text in Smet, *Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, pp. 76–79. Although the *Vita*, as a work of hagiography, should be treated cautiously, it is possible that this document is authentic. What is known of Philippe de Mezières and his relationship with Peter Thomas makes it quite possible that much of the factual detail of the text has a basis in reality. With regard to the letter of 7th November, it is quite possible that Philippe, taking possession of the Peter's effects after his death, found such a letter among his papers. The contents of the letter are credible as a continuation of the known correspondence of John and Innocent. Moreover, according to Halecki, the absence of such a letter from papal archives does not necessarily demonstrate inauthenticity (Halecki, *Empereur*, p. 61, note 2).

<sup>52</sup> Smet, *Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, pp. 74 f., 80.

Peter Thomas' remit in the east, which give Peter a role supporting John V, in collaboration with Cyprus, Venice and the Hospitallers. John is referred to as *carissimus in Christo filius noster*,<sup>53</sup> indicating official approbation of John, if not actual acceptance of his Catholic status. The *Vita* of Peter Thomas also describes, apparently some time between May and December 1359, a raid undertaken by Peter Thomas, leading a force of Hospitallers, Venetians, Genoese, English, Greeks, and *aliorum Christianorum*, on Lampsakos, a strategic point opposite Gallipoli on the Dardanelles. According to the *Vita*, the fleet visited Constantinople before the raid.<sup>54</sup>

If this account is accepted, the raid on Lampsakos would constitute a fitting continuation of dealings between John and Innocent. The effects of the taking of Gallipoli by the Ottomans in 1354, and the importance of the Gallipoli-Lampsakos axis in traffic across the Dardanelles in the period, have been discussed in Chapter 2.<sup>55</sup> An attack on Lampsakos at this time would suggest a considered response to regional concerns. Although this need not necessarily be read as designed principally to demonstrate solidarity with the Byzantines, it does suggest a coincidence of Byzantine and western concerns absent in many other western activities in the period. And if there *was* a visit to Constantinople beforehand, this could represent a response to imperial requests for a goodwill visit/show of strength, to encourage/quieten the population.

The early 1360s were largely dominated by the activities of Peter of Cyprus.<sup>56</sup> In terms of Byzantine-papal relations, there is a troublesome silence: there is a gap between the reign of Innocent VI (d. 1362) and the early years of Urban V. When John V approached Urban in 1364 through a Genoese intermediary, proposing collaboration against the Turks, Urban's response was relatively lukewarm,<sup>57</sup> and even his more enthusiastic letter of 18th April 1365<sup>58</sup> does not seem to acknowledge John's earlier commitments.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204.

<sup>54</sup> For the narrative, *ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>55</sup> Above, pp. 59 f.

<sup>56</sup> Peter's successes included the capture of Gorigos in 1359 and of Antalya in 1361. 1362–1364 was then taken up by a propaganda tour of the west, after which efforts were directed towards the crusade of Alexandria in 1365. See e.g. Geanakoplos, 'Byzantium and the Crusades, 1354–1453', p. 74; Nicol, *Last Centuries*, p. 263; Halecki, *Empereur*, pp. 80–85, pp. 101 ff.

<sup>57</sup> John's approach to Urban V is known through Urban's response of 16th Oct. 1364: Lecacheux, P., *Lettres secrètes et curiales du pape Urbain V se rapportant à la France*, fasc. 2 (Paris, 1906), no. 1305, p. 211. See also Halecki, *Empereur*, pp. 86 ff.

<sup>58</sup> Tautu, A.L., *Acta Urbani PP V (1362–1370) e registis Vaticanis aliisque fontibus* (Typis Pontificiae Universitatis Gregoriana, Rome, 1964), no. 74, pp. 122 f.

However, although this presents difficulties, it does not necessarily also imply breakdown in Byzantium's wider relationships with Latin powers, or that Latin activities ceased to influence Byzantine developments. In the early 1360s, Byzantium was negotiating with Genoa and with Venice over possibilities of defensive alliance,<sup>59</sup> while the activities of Peter of Cyprus, which included some success against the Turks, the common enemy, represent a continuation of the earlier leagues, which implies that they would have continued to demonstrate to the Byzantines the significance of Latin involvement in the region.

Urban V's letters of 18th April 1365 then mark the beginning of a period of intense and highly public Byzantine involvement with western alliances. John V travelled to Buda in 1365–1367, to negotiate with Louis of Hungary.<sup>60</sup> Proposals for alliance between Hungary, Peter of Cyprus and Amadeo of Savoy were under serious consideration at this time,<sup>61</sup> and John's actions demonstrate his concern to be involved in these deliberations.<sup>62</sup> In 1366/7, Amadeo of Savoy, John V's cousin, arrived with a naval force in Byzantine waters, and intervened to some effect in regional affairs.<sup>63</sup> Negotiations in Constantinople in 1367, involving Amadeo, resulted in a Byzantine embassy to the papacy that same year,<sup>64</sup> conveying John's readiness to submit to the Catholic church, and intention to travel west to do so. Urban's response is found in a number of letters, whose range shows again the international character of these proceedings.<sup>65</sup> Although slightly delayed, in October 1369

<sup>59</sup> Halecki, *Empereur*, pp. 75 ff.

<sup>60</sup> Halecki, *Empereur*, pp. 112 ff.

<sup>61</sup> In a letter to John V, January 1366, Urban V mentions primarily the involvement of Amadeo, Peter and Louis (Tautu, *Acta Urbani PP V*, no. 90, pp. 148 f.). Hungary asked Venice to supply boats (Halecki, *Empereur*, pp. 114 ff.).

<sup>62</sup> A joint Byzantine-Hungarian embassy was in Avignon in the summer of 1366, reporting on negotiations. Urban's response is known from a series of letters, addressing questions relating to both union and crusade, and addressed to numerous regional powers. In the event, Hungary did not pursue the project, relations between John and Louis foundered—it is not clear why, although various suggestions have been made (see Halecki, *Empereur*, pp. 132 ff.; Meyendorff, J. 'Projets de concile oecuménique en 1367', p. 154; Gill, J., 'John V Palaeologus at the court of Louis I of Hungary (1366)', passim, in Gill, *Collected Studies*)—and John encountered Bulgarian opposition on his return journey, from which he was rescued by Amadeo's intervention. See Halecki, *Empereur*, pp. 116–137.

<sup>63</sup> On Amadeo, see Cox, E.L., *The Green Count of Savoy: Amadeo VI and Transalpine Savoy in the fourteenth century* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1967); Halecki, *Empereur*, chp. 6; Gill, 'John V Palaeologus at the court of Louis I', p. 215.

<sup>64</sup> Halecki, *Empereur*, pp. 162–165. The embassy arrived in Viterbo on 7th October, and in Rome on the 16th.

<sup>65</sup> These letters are addressed to a range of recipients: members of the Byzantine imperial family, various sectors of Byzantine society (including the patriarch and the Greek clergy),

John was in Rome, where he submitted to Urban V on 18th October. After Rome, John travelled to Venice. The exact circumstances of his journey and his return to the east in 1371 are unclear,<sup>66</sup> but the journey to Venice again shows the extent of John's involvement with Latin powers.

In the 1350s and 1360s, then, John was visibly preoccupied with negotiations with the papacy and involved in western military projects. This has long been known; what is not so clear is how to situate his actions. Evidently, they were a response to a dire situation: with threats from all sides, a good relationship with the papacy could potentially neutralise the threat from Catholic powers, and mobilise military support against other enemies, principally the Ottomans. But beyond this, the situation can be read in many ways. In particular, given the concerns of this study, an important question is whether John's policies should be seen simply as 'high policy', largely divorced from more general developments in Byzantine society, or whether they can be closely connected with more general developments.

#### 5.2. DEMETRIUS' ROLE IN DEVELOPMENTS

Having given a brief sketch of the political context of the period, as regards Byzantine relations with the west, the intention is now to place Demetrius' career alongside the political developments described above, and to see what light each sheds on the other. Consideration will be given to Demetrius' personal context at different stages: what was his role at the time, what did he represent, what influence did he have, and what might his career suggest about overall trends? This will necessarily, in many cases, be speculative rather than conclusive. However, it is hoped that it will at least highlight some useful areas for consideration.

Much has already been said about Demetrius' early background, especially his family relationship with Kantakuzenos, and acquaintance with other figures. It is more difficult, however, to assess the climate of Demetrius' upbringing when it comes to questions relating to unionism and attitude to Latin culture and influence, which evidently became so important, both in his own thought and in government policies. Little can be said with

individual Latins involved in the project for union, and Latin rulers with interests in the region. On these letters, and the parties addressed, see Halecki, *Empereur*, pp. 166–171.

<sup>66</sup> Halecki, *Empereur*, chp. 9; Loenertz, R.-J., 'Jean V Paléologue à Venise (1370–1371)', *REB* 16 (1958), pp. 217–232; Chrysostomides, J., 'John V Palaeologus in Venice (1370–1371) and the Chronicle of Caroldo: a reinterpretation', *OCP* 31 (1965), pp. 76–84.

any certainty regarding this side of Demetrius' early development. However, the question still deserved consideration, since it is quite possible that Demetrius' early years did contain elements which contributed to his later activities.

One area meriting speculation is how far Demetrius was connected with the religious establishment, and thus may have been involved in theological debate at an early stage. His family may itself have been closely connected to the hierarchy: a number of figures with the name Kydones appear in ecclesiastical roles in earlier periods, one as an anti-Arsenite archbishop of Thessalonica,<sup>67</sup> another as *Ἀρχων τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου*.<sup>68</sup> There is no proven connection; but the integral role of the church in Byzantine life, and the status of Demetrius' family, make it quite likely that he had ecclesiastical connections. In any case, he clearly had personal contacts with the Orthodox establishment, as is shown by his contacts with Isidore Boucheiras, Nil Kabasilas, and even Philotheos Kokkinos.<sup>69</sup> These figures, moreover, can be linked to most of the key theological developments of the time, through their Athonite connections and their political involvement. All this suggests that Demetrius may well have been concerned with religious issues from an early age.

On the narrower question of union and the relationship with the Catholic west, Demetrius evidently grew up in a period in which this was increasingly an issue, at least for those of his class. He was born in the 1320s, when Andronikos II was making overtures to the papacy, and grew up during the reign of Andronikos III, when negotiations developed further. It is, of course, possible this had little impact in Thessalonica and still less upon Demetrius, particularly if the early discussions were restricted in scope and treated as a sensitive issue. On the other hand, Demetrius' father was an associate of Kantakuzenos, who himself later engaged in substantial negotiations with the papacy. If, as hinted above,<sup>70</sup> Kantakuzenos should also be seen as a guiding light in the negotiations of Andronikos III's reign, it is possible to regard Kantakuzenos as a constant factor connecting the ideas of the 1330s to those of subsequent decades. This would mean that during Demetrius'

<sup>67</sup> See Kianka, F., *Demetrius Cydones (c. 1324–c. 1397): Intellectual and Diplomatic Relations between Byzantium and the West in the Fourteenth Century* (D. Phil Thesis, Fordham, 1981), pp. 29 f.

<sup>68</sup> See Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, I*, p. 4, note 2 for references.

<sup>69</sup> Above, pp. 165 f.

<sup>70</sup> Above, p. 180.

formative years, when Demetrius' father was associated with Kantakuzenos, Kantakuzenos was at the centre of such debates, making it quite possible that Demetrius was influenced accordingly.<sup>71</sup>

This does not, of course, prove that Demetrius was so influenced, at least not while he was in Thessalonica. Even if the issues were being discussed there, he, as a young man, may have been excluded from such discussions. However, he would almost certainly become involved in the issues when he entered political life in Kantakuzenos' service. Demetrius' role as close advisor and intermediary, not to mention his dealings with Latins and Latin studies, mean that it is almost inevitable that he would have been aware of business involving the papacy. He does not mention it specifically; but his description, in the *Apologia I*, of dealing with all manner of Latin visitors, including ambassadors and those of a philosophical bent,<sup>72</sup> leaves ample scope for involvement in such matters. That he was evidently consorting with Dominicans<sup>73</sup> makes it even more likely that he was familiar with discussion of doctrinal and ecclesiastical matters.

Conversely, Demetrius' activities during Kantakuzenos' reign throw some light on Kantakuzenos' own approach. As was argued in Chapter 3, there seems little reason to doubt that Kantakuzenos did sponsor Demetrius' early translations.<sup>74</sup> Kantakuzenos' motives are debatable: interest in a work does not imply agreeing with it, and even Demetrius' claim that Kantakuzenos saw the translations as advantageous to the Greeks<sup>75</sup> is not unambiguous. But Kantakuzenos' connection with Demetrius' translations has interesting general implications. First, supporting a project of this scope implies an interest in western thought which goes far beyond specific issues in east-west doctrinal dispute.<sup>76</sup> This suggests Kantakuzenos saw value in engaging with western theology for more than narrow polemical reasons. Second, Kantakuzenos' patronage of Demetrius' work suggests a level of publicity which places the translations in a prominent position, with considerable poten-

<sup>71</sup> Whether Demetrius was acquainted with Barlaam is unknown, since it was proved by Loenertz that Demetrius could not be the recipient of a letter from Barlaam printed in PG 151 (Loenertz, R.-J., 'Note sur la correspondance de Barlaam, évêque de Gerace, avec ses amis de Grèce', *OCP* 23 (1957), pp. 201 f.); but it is possible that they were acquainted, and highly probable that Demetrius was aware of Barlaam's activities in Thessalonica. See Tinnefeld, 'Das Niveau der abendländischen Wissenschaft', p. 268.

<sup>72</sup> Above, pp. 13 f.

<sup>73</sup> In the *Apologia I*, Demetrius describes his Dominican teacher as leaving his brethren in order to go to teach Demetrius. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 261, 70 ff.

<sup>74</sup> Above, p. 150.

<sup>75</sup> Above, p. 14.

<sup>76</sup> As highlighted above, p. 28.

tial for affecting intellectual trends. This would suggest that the favourable tone of Kantakuzenos' dealings with the west, far from representing external policy with little connection to internal Byzantine developments, in fact is reflected in considerable activity internal to Byzantine society, at least within the intellectual elite.

Quite what Demetrius' role was in the debate, and the stance he took at this stage, cannot be said. However, what can be said is that if, as Kantakuzenos' patronage suggests, there was an existing climate favourable to investigation of western culture and ideas, there is no need necessarily to think of Demetrius as a pioneer flying in the face of cultural norms in these early years. If Kantakuzenos, as emperor, was willing to countenance, and even encourage, such investigation, Demetrius' activities can be seen as in some way in keeping with the conditions of the time.

Further, with regard to the climate of Kantakuzenos' reign, if Kantakuzenos did indeed actively and publicly promote the translation of Aquinas, this enhances the likelihood that the direct expression found in his dealings with the papacy was also characteristic of his proclaimed policy, rather than designed principally for external consumption. This would make a willingness to acknowledge some kind of papal authority, a willingness to engage in discussion, a basic assumption of shared Christian heritage, and a sense that some settlement could be reached through canonical means (i.e. through a council) a normative part of Demetrius' general environment in these early years in imperial service, rather than part of a 'secret', and possibly duplicitous, agenda. Looked at in this light, Demetrius' opinions may be rather less controversial than they might otherwise be thought. Where he differs is that he made a unilateral decision in favour of the west, without waiting for a settlement to be reached. This is clearly a crucial difference; but nevertheless, many aspects of Demetrius' general attitude may well have been imperially sanctioned in Kantakuzenos' reign.

Demetrius' move from Kantakuzenos' administration to that of John V raises different questions. On the basis of what has been said above, Demetrius, although perhaps more influenced than influencing during Kantakuzenos' reign, by the end of it would have been known as a translator of western theology and associate of westerners. This has implications for his return to imperial service. Tinnefeld connects John V's recall of Demetrius to a recognition that he needed Demetrius' experience.<sup>77</sup> Demetrius' experience

<sup>77</sup> 'Schon bald muß der junge Palaiologe... begriffen haben, daß er ohne den erfahrenen Mitarbeiter seines Vorgängers nicht auskommen konnte.' Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, I*, p. 14.

included his knowledge of Latin theology and language and his dealings with westerners while in Kantakuzenos' service, which would have left him with extensive acquaintance amongst Latins, lay and clerical, and quite probably an intimate knowledge of the direction taken in earlier negotiations. Given John's policies, expressed in the chrysobull of 1355 (*before* Demetrius' recall; see below), it is therefore likely that Demetrius was recalled *because* of these connections, rather than in despite of them: because he could be useful in negotiations, and in dealing with the hoped-for military response.

Demetrius' recall may also reflect a wish to stabilise John V's regime by involving as many interest groups as possible, including Kantakuzenos' former officials. This too is likely, and it too has implications. It would suggest that Demetrius was a desirable acquisition—a useful addition to the government. This supports the idea that Demetrius by now was a substantial figure in his own right, worth courting as such, despite his particularly close association with Kantakuzenos. But it also further supports the idea that Demetrius' associations with Latins and with Latin theology did not make him a controversial enough figure for his appointment to be a judged a destabilising factor.

Demetrius was apparently not involved in John's V's initial approach to Innocent VI,<sup>78</sup> presumably because he was still in retirement. However, the implication is that he was involved in issues relating to Catholic-Orthodox relations in the mid-1350s. His name appears in a work of Philip de Bindo Incontri—the *Libellus qualiter Greci recesserunt*—dated to 1357, and another of Philip's works—the *De processione Spiritus sancti*<sup>79</sup>—dated to 1359, apparently also refers to him.<sup>80</sup> The *Libellus* connects Demetrius with the discovery of Acta of the anti-Photian council of 869/870,<sup>81</sup> and describes Demetrius as a convert.<sup>82</sup> The *De processione* mentions a *nobilis Graecus fidelis* debating a passage in Acts with Philip; this has been identified as Demetrius.<sup>83</sup> These passages raise questions about Demetrius' activities in the mid-1350s. Kaeppli suggests that the *Libellus* was addressed to Peter Thomas, to provide him with background information on the situation when he arrived in the east

<sup>78</sup> He is not addressed Innocent's letters of 18th August 1356, suggesting he was not officially involved with John V's embassy; see above, p. 181, note 48.

<sup>79</sup> Loenertz, R.-J., 'Fr. Philippe de Bindo Incontri O.P. du convent de Péra, Inquisiteur en Orient', *AFFM* 18 (1948), p. 267.

<sup>80</sup> For the dating of both pieces, see Kaeppli, 'Deux nouveaux ouvrages', pp. 170 f.

<sup>81</sup> See above, p. 27.

<sup>82</sup> ... *coadiuvante quodam fideli Greco vocato Demetrio Chidonij, nobili genere, cive Thesalonicensi qui conversus ad fidem*... Kaeppli, 'Fr. Philippe de Bindo Incontri', pp. 164 f.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181.

in 1357.<sup>84</sup> Demetrius' involvement with Philip suggests that Demetrius was aware of Philip's presentation of the situation, and may have contributed to it. It also implies that Demetrius had access to Peter Thomas and participated in the negotiations involving him.

At the same time, Demetrius was also continuing his translations of Aquinas, moving on to the *ST*, and possibly working on the *Contra legem Saracenorum*.<sup>85</sup> This aspect of his activities suggests continuity with his projects under Kantakuzenos: a broad approach to theological inquiry, rather than narrow focus on specific issues. Personal interest could explain most of this; but it may also suggest continuing contact with, even encouragement from, Kantakuzenos. This is particularly interesting, if indeed Kantakuzenos was, as suggested, a focus for ideas relating to Byzantine-papal dealings from the 1330s right through his own reign into that of John V.<sup>86</sup> Demetrius may represent an important point of intellectual contact and continuity between Kantakuzenos and John. There were undoubtedly other points of possible contact: John V was married to Kantakuzenos' daughter, and other officials, such as Nicholas Sigeros,<sup>87</sup> also made the transition to the new administration. But Demetrius' former position as *mesazon* under Kantakuzenos, and his known intellectual and political contribution, suggest that he could have played a particularly important role.

Whether Demetrius was openly a 'convert' at this stage is important, particularly as regards the climate of John V's dealings with Peter Thomas. It is very difficult to say how Demetrius' public status was understood. Precisely what 'conversion' implies in this context is, in any case, a very difficult question.<sup>88</sup> However, Philip de Bindo Incontri's description of Demetrius as *conversus ad fidem* in 1357 makes it likely that Demetrius had given personal assurances enough to convince Philip at least of his credentials. Given the context of Philip's comment in the *Libellus* that may have been presented to Peter Thomas, it seems likely that Demetrius was accepted as such by Peter Thomas' delegation.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171. On Peter Thomas' mission, see above, pp. 181 f.

<sup>85</sup> Above, p. 17, p. 26.

<sup>86</sup> Above, p. 180.

<sup>87</sup> Sigeros served under both Kantakuzenos and John V, and he is addressed in Innocent's letters of 18th August 1356, showing that his involvement included negotiations with the papacy. Loenertz, 'Démétrius Cydonès, 1: De la naissance à l'année 1373', p. 56.

<sup>88</sup> As was discussed earlier, to a large extent Demetrius' own conception of acceptance of the west was of recognition that both east and west should be part of the one church, and that their intrinsic theologies coincided, rather than any far-reaching sense of rejection of one in favour of the other. See above, pp. 115 ff.

But does this mean that Demetrius was regarded as 'Catholic' within Byzantine circles? This is more difficult. Some ambiguity may have been possible. Given that this was a period of close diplomatic encounter, with political motives for convincing the Latin delegates of Byzantine sincerity, Demetrius' contacts with Latin Catholics could perhaps have been presented as politic and deliberately ambiguous for home consumption. If it is assumed that the home audience could not possibly tolerate genuine 'conversion', to the extent that Demetrius, if known to be 'Catholic', would have been politically incapacitated at home, it is also necessary to assume that use was made of this potential ambiguity, and that the strength of Demetrius' Catholic sympathies was hidden. Demetrius' task, in that case, would have been impossibly complicated, requiring him to convince the Catholic negotiators of his sincerity in order to serve Byzantine interests, while convincing a hostile home audience that he himself remained unsullied.

However, this interpretation is difficult. It is hard to believe that it does justice to the situation. If popular opinion was such that it was necessary to present Demetrius' activities in this ambiguous way, it is also questionable whether such subtle ambiguities would have been sufficient to safeguard Demetrius and render imperial negotiations acceptable. If popular opposition to the papacy was so strong, it would not have been enough to insist that Orthodoxy was being guaranteed and that the negotiators remained uncontaminated; even the fact of positive contact with papal envoys would have been enough to undermine those involved. Whether or not they were officially 'converts', they would have been regarded as highly suspicious; and any amount of disingenuous disinformation on the part of the government would not have been enough to counter that.

But if the idea that popular opposition to rapprochement to the west was decisive and unalterable is relinquished, alternative explanations are possible. One explanation could be that the unusual conditions of the mid-1350s meant that it was neither possible, nor perhaps desirable or necessary to gauge the exact status of some individuals.<sup>89</sup> Many may have been placed in an ambiguous situation, without this necessarily compromising them. How, for example, would Demetrius' 'Catholicism' have manifested itself, if he understood himself at the time, as he does in the *Apologia I*, as an orthodox member of the one church, to which both Rome and Constantinople belong? Such 'Catholicism' need not have led to aberrant behaviour, likely to attract attention. Further, if the climate required such a degree of con-

<sup>89</sup> Although see below, p. 192, with note 93, regarding George the Philosopher's status.

tact between Catholics and Orthodox that such contact could not be taken as automatically suspect, it may have often been unclear whether particular individuals simply dealt with Catholics as fellow Christians on a provisional basis, while disagreeing with their errors, or whether they actually accepted Catholic claims.

It is, however, also possible that Demetrius' 'Catholicism' was even deliberately flaunted. John V had a history of dealings with the papacy. He also had Latin family connections,<sup>90</sup> pressing reasons for seeking western approval, and followed policies aimed at gaining that approval. Gaining approval required that Byzantium be regarded, long-term, as part of legitimate Christendom: fooling one papal mission would not suffice. Given this, if the assumption that opposition to the Catholic west was *the* determining factor in internal Byzantine politics, and that any dealings with the west therefore had to be muted, is abandoned, one would expect to observe John trying to strengthen his case. Rather than being secretive about pro-western ideas, one might expect his administration to try to promote them. For this, it could be useful for the 'conversion' of leading figures to be known: imperial favour shown to such 'converts' might help recruit uncommitted Byzantines, as well as giving papal envoys evidence that the situation was indeed changing. This would make sense of Demetrius' presence as an open 'convert' in John V's administration. Demetrius' intellectual and theological credentials and political connections could have lent added conviction to government propaganda. Demetrius' 'conversion' could have been an asset, both to him and the government, rather than an uncomfortable adjunct.

Admittedly, this is highly speculative, and necessarily so, since the evidence available is minimal, from disparate sources, and allows of numerous interpretations. However, it does bear consideration, particularly given later developments. John V's journey to Rome indicates a very public commitment to his undertakings, and, as will be discussed below, there are aspects of Demetrius' writings in the 1360s which do suggest a propagandist role for his opinions. It is possible that both of these are a result of evolution over time, and that their implications should not be applied to the mid-1350s. However, it is also possible that they do apply to the mid-1350s, in which case the idea that it is perfectly conceivable that even radically pro-western attitudes could be voiced with impunity becomes perfectly rational.

Another question concerns Demetrius' role as time and circumstance progressed, in the late 1350s and early 1360s. As has been seen above,

<sup>90</sup> See above, pp. 77 f.



this is a difficult area, since the transition from the negotiations of the mid-1350s to the developments from 1364 onwards is poorly documented. However, Demetrius' letters make some reference to the period, and in doing so provide both additional detail as to the nature of the situation and information regarding Demetrius' own role in affairs. The latter is particularly useful in assessing the context of Demetrius' longer writings of the mid-1360s.

Demetrius' correspondence with George the Philosopher in 1361/1362, complex as it is, gives some indications regarding both general developments and Demetrius' position. In L31, Demetrius reassures George that his influential position with John V does not cause him to neglect George.<sup>91</sup> George, in Cyprus, has come under attack for advice he has been offering, and for attacks on the legate (Peter Thomas).<sup>92</sup> George's position, as Demetrius describes it, is particularly precarious because he has been seen to convert to Catholicism,<sup>93</sup> which makes his behaviour more reprehensible in the eyes of his opponents. George falls between different camps. On the one hand, some praise him for resisting the legate and for the imprisonment he has suffered as a result, but criticise him because he does not condemn the Latins as heretics, instead allowing them latitude by suggesting that their theology is unclear.<sup>94</sup> On the other hand, the hesychasts (*οἱ δὲ θεόληπτοι καὶ ἐπίπνοι*) are against him because he opposes the doctrine of the energies.<sup>95</sup> George is in the unfortunate position of representing one set of opinions to one group, another to another,<sup>96</sup> and his letters have also brought this reputation upon Demetrius.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>91</sup> οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ τὸ δύνασθαι παρ' ἐκείνω... οὐδὲν με τούτων ἔπεισεν ἐπιλαθέσθαι τῆς σῆς κεφαλῆς... Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 60: 31, 11 ff.

<sup>92</sup> Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 61 f.: 31, 43–52.

<sup>93</sup> σὲ δὲ φασὶ ταῖς ἐκείνων θεολογίας συνθέσθαι, ὁμωμοκέναι τε νομίζειν ἃ καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις παρεῖχεν ὁ Φίλιππος, ἐν τῇ τελετῇ σοι περὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων διαλεχθεῖς. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 62: 31, 57 f. This wording suggests that in George's case confession to Philip (which is what Demetrius seems to be describing: see Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,2*, p. 307 with note 25a) was taken as evidence of adherence to Catholic doctrine.

<sup>94</sup> οἱ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς τὸν λεγάτον ἔνστασιον ἐπαινοῦντες, καὶ τῆς εἰρκτῆς σε καὶ τῶν πληγῶν μακαρίζοντες, ἑτέρωθεν ἠτιῶντο ὅτι μὴ σαφῶς τοὺς Λατίνους αἰρετικούς ἀποφαίνῃ, ἀλλ' ἔτι φεῖδεσθαι δοκεῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἄδηλα θεολογεῖν τούτους φάσκων, καὶ ταύτη δοκῶν χάρας τούτοις μεταδιδόναι. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 62: 31, 64–68.

<sup>95</sup> Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 62: 31, 68–72.

<sup>96</sup> πάντως ἐρεῖς ὁ πολλάκις, ὡς δυστυχῆς τις εἴης, παρὰ τούτοις μὲν τὰ κείνων, παρ' ἐκείνοις δὲ τὰ τούτων ἐγκωμιάζων. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 62: 31, 73 f.

<sup>97</sup> See above, p. 139, with note 37.

The reference to George's imprisonment probably has to do with Peter Thomas' activities on Cyprus in the spring of 1360. The *Vita* of Peter Thomas tells how, after the raid on Lampsakos, Peter went to Cyprus, where he was involved in the coronation of Peter of Cyprus in 1360. After this, he set about converting the schismatic Greeks. He summoned an assembly of Greek clergy to meet in a church behind closed doors. According to the *Vita*, Peter convinced many of them, but this enraged others, and a rioting crowd forced entry into the church. Peter, prepared to die as a martyr for the Catholic faith, was rescued by the brother of the King of Cyprus. Undaunted, he continued to exercise his mission, with—according to the *Vita*—considerable success.<sup>98</sup> Makhairas also gives an account of trouble on Cyprus caused by Peter Thomas. He emphasises the determination of Peter and 'the Franks' to force adherence, to the extent of forced confirmation of the clergy. He also says that when the authorities had quelled the riots Peter was ordered to leave the island, and a message sent to the pope requesting him not to send any more such legates to cause trouble.<sup>99</sup> Neither account is without difficulties. However, it seems clear that Peter Thomas' activities on Cyprus provoked unrest.

But even if George's imprisonment is to be connected with Peter Thomas' activities, the nature of George's involvement is far from clear.<sup>100</sup> Demetrius' comments may mean that George was imprisoned for involvement on the Greek side in the disturbances; the letter certainly indicates a religious aspect to George's difficulties. But the nature of George's 'advice' and resistance to Peter Thomas is not specified; all the letter indicates is that some people think George's behaviour unacceptable, given his earlier conversion to Catholicism. This could mean that George had openly reneged, returned to the Greek side, and thus come into conflict with Peter Thomas. But it could mean many other things. Peter Thomas was also involved in political and military affairs; George's confrontation with him could have had to do with any number of related practical matters, or may even have been on a personal level.<sup>101</sup> And even if the conflict did relate to Peter's dealings with the

<sup>98</sup> Smet, *Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, pp. 92 f.

<sup>99</sup> Dawkins, R.M. (ed.), *Leontios Makhairas: Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled "Chronicle"* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1932), pp. 88–91.

<sup>100</sup> As is indicated by Tinnefeld's reserved treatment of it: see Tinnefeld, 'Georgios Philosophos', pp. 149–153.

<sup>101</sup> To judge from the end of the letter, where Demetrius criticises George for accusing a certain 'priest and philosopher' of, amongst other things, pederasty (*ὅτι δὴ παιδεραστίας καὶ τῶν αἰσχίστων ἱερέα καὶ φιλόσοφον ἄνδρα ἐδίωκες*). Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I, 62: 31, 77 f.): the context suggests this refers to Peter Thomas himself. See Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,2*, p. 311, X4.

Greek church, even this might have had more to do with Peter's confrontational approach than Peter's faith, as such. Given that Peter was papal legate, George's opposition on any level could have been regarded by some as indicating questionable loyalty, but this need not have been the crucial issue.

But leaving aside the question of whether, and how, George was involved in religious disturbances on Cyprus in 1360, L31 gives some useful indications as to Demetrius' own position, developments in Constantinople, and the nuances of the religious question. The letter indicates that Demetrius, in 1361/2, enjoyed John V's confidence. It also shows that he was aware of developments in Cyprus, and that his religious stance was ambiguous, like George's. It supports the idea that he was indeed personally acquainted with Peter Thomas.<sup>102</sup> Moreover, Demetrius' position in John's confidence implies that John also followed developments in Cyprus, and knew of the problems caused by Peter Thomas. Finally, the leakage of information Demetrius mentions with regard to L31<sup>103</sup> suggests that these matters were also in the public domain.

On the basis of this, it is also possible to take L31 as providing an insight into wider developments in Byzantine relations with the west. If the *Vita* of Peter Thomas is right about the letter of 1357 and the raid on Lampsakos in 1359,<sup>104</sup> this implies continuity in the association of Byzantine plans with Peter Thomas' activities. Given this, one might expect John V to take a keen interest in further developments. Demetrius' letter to George supports this, since it suggests that John followed events. It is possible that the Byzantine government may have regarded Cyprus as something of a test case, in which the results of negotiations with Peter Thomas, both with regard to practical benefits and popular reactions, could be observed.

However, if events were being monitored in this way, the early 1360s may have been rather discouraging. Peter Thomas' dealings with the Greek population come across, in both the *Vita* and Makhairas, as insensitive and provocative—as precisely the kind of intransigent approach to Orthodoxy likely to polarise the situation, fuel Orthodox opposition and thus undermine attempts to build up favourable relations. This may well have caused John V to step back from associating with Peter Thomas' activities and

<sup>102</sup> Assuming that the cleric accused of pederasty (see above, p. 193, note 101) was Peter Thomas. Demetrius says that if George knew the individual concerned properly he would recognise his virtues (*ὄν ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς ἐπήνεσας ἂν καὶ τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τῆς σοφίας*. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, 62: 31, 82f.). This implies that Demetrius was sufficiently acquainted with the person concerned to make this judgement of character.

<sup>103</sup> See above, p. 139.

<sup>104</sup> Above, pp. 181f.

rethink his approach. It is even possible that the earlier negotiations in Constantinople had provided Peter Thomas with some kind of licence for his actions, or at least that he presented them as such.<sup>105</sup> In that case, the outcome of events would have given John even stronger reasons for distancing himself, especially if, as Demetrius' letter suggests, the news of what had been happening was publicly broadcast in Constantinople.

This is, of course, once again highly speculative. However, the centrality of Cyprus in Eastern Mediterranean affairs in the 1360s, as the focus of western crusading activity, makes the question of the relationship between Byzantium and Cyprus of central importance. In these circumstances, Demetrius' correspondence is valuable because of the interaction it suggests between Constantinople and Cyprus.<sup>106</sup> Although the situation is difficult to interpret, to pass over it would be to suggest a vacuum where there was very likely a significant relationship, and too facile an interpretation of the situation along denominational or ethnic lines would fail to allow for many unknown factors in what must have been a highly complex situation.

Moving on, L93 (summer 1364, to Simon Atumanos)<sup>107</sup> provides some insight into John V's relationship with the papacy under Urban V, and Demetrius' role in this. The letter, which precedes the resumption of documented official correspondence of 1364 onwards, indicates that Simon had been in Constantinople relatively recently, and met John V, but under strained circumstances.<sup>108</sup> Now absent (possibly in Avignon), Simon has written to Demetrius,<sup>109</sup> and to John, advising that a Byzantine embassy

<sup>105</sup> If the letter of 1357 is genuine, and was in Peter Thomas' possession at his death, and thus passed into the hands of Philippe de Mezières, as suggested above (p. 181, note 51), it is also possible that Peter Thomas had the letter in his possession on Cyprus in 1360, and that he used it to support his campaign. Both the *Vita* and Makhairas indicate that a large group of Greek clerics did assemble to meet Peter Thomas, without suggesting they were compelled to do so. Was Peter Thomas able to achieve this because his dealings with John V provided him with official sanction?—And if so, might this have been connected with his possession of official documentation—such as the letter of 1357—as proof of John's support?

<sup>106</sup> A similar interaction is also implied by L325 (1365/6), to John Laskaris Kalopheros.

<sup>107</sup> See above, p. 139.

<sup>108</sup> L93 makes it clear that in Simon's letter to John V, which Demetrius read to John, Simon complained of being neglected while in Constantinople, and only accorded one brief audience with the emperor (Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, I*, 126: 93, 30–34). John's reply (through Demetrius) is that it was Simon who disdained John's company, and that his decision to reside far from the palace impeded communication. Regarding the brevity of the audience, this was due to pressing business of state; Simon should have realised this, and simply returned at a later date, instead of taking umbrage. John would never deliberately slight such an able man (*Ibid.*, 35–44).

<sup>109</sup> According to L93, Simon's letter to Demetrius had been written in the autumn of 1363: *τρογγητοῦ δὲ μεσοῦντος ταῦτ' ἔλεγεσ ἀντὸς ὑπὸ σοῦ συντεθεῖσθαι*. *Ibid.*, 15f.

be sent to the Curia.<sup>110</sup> Demetrius has spoken in support of this, but his advice has been rejected, because of the history of non-fulfilment of western promises.<sup>111</sup> John has confined himself to sending letters to the pope, and it is for the pope to respond.<sup>112</sup> Demetrius himself is beginning to doubt that there will be any positive result: it seems to be all just talk, and there is no evidence of a large army gathering in the west—something that, if it *were* happening, could not be hidden.<sup>113</sup> Demetrius asks Simon for assurances that something will happen, and warns Simon that if nothing is done, and Constantinople is taken, the west will itself be directly threatened.<sup>114</sup>

L93 thus shows Demetrius again involved in key developments, dealing with Simon's correspondence on John's behalf. It gives a valuable account of conditions in Constantinople in 1364, describing popular disillusionment with the west's failure to deliver. However, the particular concerns of the letter should also be taken into account when interpreting it.

For example, it could be suggested that the complaints of non-fulfilment of promises indicate that that raid on Lampsakos must be a fiction. But L93 is clearly concerned principally with the prospect of a large-scale crusade,<sup>115</sup> not smaller expeditions; and the phraseology *could* in any case allow for the previous sending of a small force.<sup>116</sup> The complaints of L93 are best taken as expression of disappointment at the non-materialisation of a large-scale

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 45–50. Demetrius reports that John V welcomed the advice as a sign of Simon's commitment: ἤσθη μὲν τῇ σῆ φιλία καὶ τῷ διὰ πάντων σε φροντίδα τῆς ἐκείνων δόξης ποιῆσθαι. Ibid., 46f.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 93, 47–70. Demetrius explains that detractors cite the activities of Paul of Smyrna and of Peter Thomas as examples of projects failing to produce results, and the failure of the pope to do anything other than write letters (καὶ προσετίθεισαν τὰς πρότερον τοῦ Σμύρνης, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ λεγάτου τριήρεις καὶ ὑποσχέσεις, καὶ οὐδὲν πλέον τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πάπα ἢ γραμμάτων ὄγκος καὶ σεμνότης παρὰ καιρόν. Ibid., 58 ff.). He also alludes to the failure even of Peter of Cyprus to win support (Ibid., 60–70).

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 70–74.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 74–82.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 82–end.

<sup>115</sup> E.g. Demetrius' comment that the preparation of *such a great host* could not have been disguised: καίτοι τσαούτης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν...στρατίας διαβησομένης, πάντας ἔδει κινεῖσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων πραγμάτων μεγάλα φαίνεσθαι τὰ προοίμια. Ibid., 77 ff.

<sup>116</sup> Tinnefeld translates τὰς μὲν τοῦ Σμύρνης...δὲ τοῦ λεγάτου τριήρεις καὶ ὑποσχέσεις as *die früher vom Bischof von Smyrna, später von dem Legaten versprochenen Schiffe* (Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, 2*, p. 355)—i.e. as a complaint that ships were promised by both Paul and Peter, but did not materialise. However, it may be possible to read the 'triremes' and the 'promises' as separate elements, in which case the implication would be that the 'triremes' accompanied the 'promises', and the complaint is that nothing *more* resulted—that is, that no large-scale expedition followed.

crusade directed in Byzantium's favour; and if anything, this suggests that Byzantine hopes had indeed been raised high previously, quite possibly by small-scale raids such as that on Lampsakos.

Similarly, L93 need not suggest that Demetrius himself was disillusioned with the west. It is the likelihood of a crusade materialising that Demetrius says he is 'in danger' of disbelieving, not other matters. Moreover, within the letter this is part of an argument designed to encourage practical response, rather than to condemn the west. That this is so is shown by the end of the letter, where Demetrius, having described the dangers to the west of a Turkish conquest of Constantinople, advises Simon that these are the kinds of argument he should use in putting his case to his superiors.<sup>117</sup> Demetrius' complaints are part of this: he uses them to convey the moral and practical necessity of rapid western intervention, rather than to express personal disquiet.<sup>118</sup> The west has given Byzantium cause to hope; it is now morally bound to live up to those hopes.

While L31 and L93 can be related to broad political developments in this way, in terms of Demetrius' career the most significant evidence they give concerns Demetrius' relationship with John V, which has implications for the strength of his position at court and role in negotiations. In L31, as has been seen, he claims strong influence with John, while the relationship described in L93 shows Demetrius as a close counsellor, accredited to speak for John, even if unable to influence John in some matters. This evidence places Demetrius in a significant position in the early 1360s, and as such provides a useful context for the composition of one of his main writings, the *Apologia I*, written c. 1363.<sup>119</sup>

Many aspects of the *Apologia I* have been discussed earlier. However, there is scope for further discussion. It is possible, on the basis both of its contents and Demetrius' own role at the time of its composition, to suggest that the *Apologia I* should be read in a political context—as propaganda—rather than as essentially autobiographical and personal. If this is the case, the *Apologia I* becomes a source potentially able to provide insight into some of the most difficult questions regarding the developments of the period.

For this to be asserted, however, it is necessary to consider the aspect of the text which most militates against reading it in such terms: the autobiograph-

<sup>117</sup> τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις κινῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ δίκαια ἐρεῖς καὶ ἀληθῆ καὶ συμφέροντα. Loenertz, *Demetrius Kydones, Correspondance, I*, 128: 93, 99f.

<sup>118</sup> C.f. Ševčenko, I. 'The Decline of Byzantium seen through the eyes of its intellectuals', *DOP* 15 (1961), p. 186, where Ševčenko implies that Demetrius here is deliberately 'crying wolf'.

<sup>119</sup> See above, pp. 44f.

ical and personal form of the text. It is certainly the case that the *Apologia I*, on one level, expresses the personal theological opinions of the author. It is also true that the text is heavily personal in other ways, scattered with autobiographical details, and expressed in the first person. How, given this, can it then be claimed that it should instead be read as propaganda, possibly even as government propaganda?

On the one hand, the personal elements need not necessarily indicate that work is to be thought of as primarily concerned with the personal sphere.<sup>120</sup> As autobiography, indeed, the work would be largely unsatisfying. The account of Demetrius' early life, for example,<sup>121</sup> is brief, with only a minimal amount of detail; much more information is available from Demetrius' other writings, while the *Apologia I* is brief to the point of being misleading. The 'personal intellectual odyssey' describing Demetrius' learning of Latin, encounter with Latin thought, progress in Latin studies, and the development of his ideas, does give considerable information of a rather unusual quality, but it is also at times oddly inconsistent and uninformative. The first person format, moreover, need not indicate that a work is purely personal in scope. Most of Demetrius' writings are written in the first person, although they represent different genres: in his speeches, for example, he often uses 'personal' motifs, although speaking as a politician in a public arena. This need not limit the scope of the message.

On the other hand, there seem to be certain key themes in the *Apologia I* which guide the presentation of the ideas in the text rather more than the personal structure. These themes can be interpreted in such a way that they point to different levels at which the text can be interpreted.

The opening 'autobiographical' section, and the description of Demetrius' learning of Latin and encounter with western thought, contain some clues as to what these key themes are, and how they govern the presentation. In the opening pages, there seems to be a desire above all to present Demetrius' activities as consonant with loyal service. The short family history sets the scene for Demetrius' entry into imperial service. This then—as has been seen above<sup>122</sup>—provides a context legitimising his learning of Latin, since he needs to learn Latin in order to fulfil his official duties. There is,

<sup>120</sup> By way of comparison, the objective historical format taken by Kantakuzenos' *History* does not prevent it from also constituting personal apologetics (Kazhdan, A.P., 'L'histoire de Cantacuzène en tant qu'œuvre littéraire', *Byz* 50 (1980), p. 284); there seems no reason therefore why Demetrius, writing at a similar point in time, should not make use of personal apologetics to convey ideas perhaps more suited to the format of a political or theological treatise.

<sup>121</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 359 f., 8–38.

<sup>122</sup> pp. 13 f.

indeed, a recurrent motif of imperial sanction: Demetrius is given a high-ranking position,<sup>123</sup> which demonstrates imperial approval; when he starts to translate, he has imperial support;<sup>124</sup> when he has finished his translations, it is the emperor who has the translations copied.<sup>125</sup> Thus the opening pages seem to be driven not by a desire to accurately narrate Demetrius' early career and intellectual development, but by a desire to present both as the legitimate activities of a loyal servant of the emperor—a loyal Byzantine—approved and supported at every stage.

This emphasis on loyalty/legitimacy is echoed in various ways throughout the text. As has been seen, despite his bitter attacks on various Greek attitudes, on the patriarchate, etc., Demetrius is keen to identify with his Greek audience; he may have different opinions, but he identifies with them.<sup>126</sup> Even on the subject of the *filioque*, he does not necessarily think them wrong, and he insists that his knowledge of Latin thought is offered as a benefit to his compatriots<sup>127</sup> and that his actions stem from a wish to defend the reputation of his compatriots, not a wish to favour the Latins.<sup>128</sup> He has never said that it is necessary to reject the Greek church.<sup>129</sup> With such arguments, he repeatedly insists on his loyalty to his homeland and people.

The theme of loyalty is particularly strongly emphasised, in terms of secular patriotism, towards the end of the *Apologia I*.<sup>130</sup> Here, Demetrius insists that he holds the *patris* above all other things—*after* God.<sup>131</sup> He would prefer to suffer in the *patris*, rather than enjoy any amount of pleasures abroad.<sup>132</sup> He sets this devotion to the *patris*, however, within a strict order of precedence. God and the truth come first, then the soul, and *then* the *patris*.<sup>133</sup> A difficulty only arises if the *patris* oversteps its authority, and

<sup>123</sup> Above, p. 149, with note 78.

<sup>124</sup> Above, p. 14.

<sup>125</sup> Above, p. 14, p. 150.

<sup>126</sup> Above, pp. 117 f.

<sup>127</sup> Above, pp. 121 f.

<sup>128</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 395 f., 45–63.

<sup>129</sup> Above, p. 116.

<sup>130</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 400, (130)2–15.

<sup>131</sup> Ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα πάντων τῶν ἄλλων, μετὰ γε τὸν Θεόν, τιμώτατον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ ἀγιώτατον, καὶ τῶν ὀπωσούν ἐμοὶ προσηκόντων ταύτην ἄγω προτιμωτέραν ὡς ἂν πάντων ὧν ἔχω καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ ἐμοῦ, μετὰ γε τὴν πρώτην ἀρχὴν, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐστίαν. *Ibid.*, (130)2–5.

<sup>132</sup> καὶ πολλῶν ἂν δυσχερῶν ἐν αὐτῇ μένων ἥδιον ἀναισχροίμην ἂν ἢ παρ' ἄλλοις διατρίβων δεξαίμην τῶν μεγίστων ἡδονῶν ἀπολαύειν. *Ibid.*, 5 ff.

<sup>133</sup> μέγιστον δὲ Θεὸς καὶ ἀλήθεια, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἢ τούτων ἕνεκα κτισθεῖσα ψυχὴ. τούτοις σὺν ὁ δίκαιον περισώζων, πρόθυμον ἑμᾶντὸν εἰς τᾶλλα τῇ πατρίδι διάκονον ὑπισχνοῦμαι παρέξεν. *Ibid.*, 11 ff.

demands more than its due: in such circumstances, Demetrius cannot serve the *patris* in a way which would harm both it and himself.<sup>134</sup>

Although the idea of divine precedence is thoroughly orthodox, Demetrius' argument, in the circumstances, could be seen as a vain attempt to claim a patriotism he clearly has departed from. The problem is one of divided loyalties: an opponent would see Demetrius' ideas as involving a loyalty to the papacy thoroughly irreconcilable with loyalty to Byzantine authority and tradition. Demetrius tries to reconcile the situation by using the idea of the unity of the church. As was seen earlier,<sup>135</sup> Demetrius uses this argument to place the different sides in the theological disputes within a single framework. His point is that, even if people disagree with him, this does not justify them in regarding him as an enemy,<sup>136</sup> both sides still belong within the one church. His argument allows for disagreement—indeed, the way he describes it *assumes* disagreement—but denies that such disagreement can justify absolute enmity.

This argument makes it possible to suggest that, although clearly on one level the *Apologia I* can be read as an attempt to explain, justify and propagate certain religious and intellectual beliefs, this is not the only possible reading of the text. At another level, Demetrius evidently assumes that many people will not agree with his understanding of doctrinal matters and ecclesiastical relations. To these people, Demetrius seems to be saying that, even if they disagree, they should still be able to admit that there is a level at which they are also united. Above all, they should be able to admit that it is possible to hold different theological ideas and yet be a loyal Byzantine. What Demetrius is arguing for is a kind of freedom of conscience,<sup>137</sup> and that co-operation and mutual acceptance should be possible on some levels even where there is religious disagreement.

If the *Apologia I* can indeed be read on these two levels, consideration of Demetrius' own context when he wrote the text introduces even more potent possibilities. Demetrius wrote the *Apologia I* as a close associate of John V and an intermediary in negotiations aimed at securing western aid. He wrote it at a time when Byzantine-papal relations were apparently

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 13 ff.

<sup>135</sup> Above, pp. 116f.

<sup>136</sup> ὥστε καὶ μὲ πολίτην ὄντα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ σώματος μέρος οὐδεὶς ἂν δικαίως μισήσειεν, εἰ στάσεως γενομένης τοὺς ἑτέροους, οὐδὲ δικαιότερα καὶ λυσιτελέστερα τῷ κοινῷ πείθονται λέγειν, τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθαιρούμεν οἴομενος καὶ τούτοις ἰδίᾳ συνοίσειν ἂν οἷς λέγω πεισθῶσιν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀρέσκει, ἐχθρὸς μὲν οὐδ' οὕτως τοῦ κοινοῦ δικαίως ἂν νομισθεῖν. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 402, 55–60.

<sup>137</sup> The idea of freedom of conscience is explicitly found in the *Apologia II*. See above, p. 45.

somewhat strained, some time after the events of Cyprus which may, as discussed above, have contributed to that strain. However, he also wrote it on the eve of the remarkable chain of events leading John V to Buda and Rome, and including Amadeo of Savoy's intervention in the east.

Clearly, if the *Apologia I* is to be regarded purely as personal apologetics, to connect the text directly to events of this nature would be inappropriate; Demetrius' opinions as an individual need only bear a general relationship to such developments. However, Demetrius' position at the time, the direction taken by government policies, and the two levels of meaning in the text itself, militate against restricting the implications of the *Apologia I*. Instead, they suggest that there may genuinely be a direct connection between the message conveyed by the text and the policies followed by the government. That is to say, the *Apologia I* could be read as propaganda.

Quite what form of propaganda it represents, and quite how it should be related to government policies, is a more difficult question. It could still be the case that the text is primarily personal: that it represents Demetrius' personal attempt to influence both public opinion and government policy, in the face, perhaps, of disillusion, scepticism and distrust. However, even if this were the case, this would still have wider implications. The dating of the text, the subsequent progress of Demetrius' career, and the later decisions taken by John, would suggest that Demetrius' ideas were at the very least permitted by John, and possibly even that they influenced John in the course of action he then pursued.

An alternative reading, however, would be that the ideas of the *Apologia I* were designed with specific government propaganda in view, to garner support or at least passive acceptance for John V's western policies. What is striking about the *Apologia I*, interpreted as above, is that its core ideas are curiously well-adapted to provide an ideological explanation of what happened later in the 1360s. It argues in favour of pro-western politics and pro-western theological ideas, including acceptance of papal primacy, but without any reference to the idea of settlement through a council. It insists that this is compatible with fidelity to Byzantine interests, but at the same time presents a case for freedom of conscience and diversity of opinion, all within the same sphere of fidelity to Byzantine interests: it does not require its audience to agree on doctrinal matters, but merely to accept some common ground, including an acceptance that there is a shared Christian identity common to east and west. As such, the *Apologia I* provides a rather good explanation of how John V's actions in 1369 might have been justified.

The difficulty in this is, of course, that the *Apologia I* is not presented at all in this way. It is presented as justifying Demetrius' opinions—not John's. The

text does not directly implicate John, and it may even have been written when John was campaigning against the Bulgarians.<sup>138</sup> However, this could itself be seen as a useful propagandist tool. By keeping the question ostensibly personal to Demetrius, the *Apologia I* can deliver its various messages while freeing John V from any direct responsibility and avoiding the spectre of imperial coercion. The ‘personal’ format, moreover, further emphasises the idea that religious belief is a matter of individual conscience. But at the same time, the *Apologia I* implies imperial involvement: imperial sanction is hinted at in the text, and also implied by Demetrius’ proximity to imperial circles. Thus the *Apologia I* may be deliberately designed to promote certain ideas, but tentatively, without confrontation, and through the establishment of a basis of co-operation between divergent groups. It would be very difficult on the basis of the text to prove that John V personally accepted any or all of its specific arguments—but that might be precisely the point.

This argument in favour of identifying the *Apologia I* so closely with government policy hinges on the understanding that Demetrius himself was indeed a central figure in government, very close to John V, not just in fact but also by reputation, to the extent that he cannot be regarded as functioning purely as an individual, but inevitably speaking in some way as a government representative. Whether Demetrius’ significance should be read in this way is debatable, and its relevance for the early 1360s depends, as has been seen, on scanty evidence.

What supports the case for Demetrius’ centrality in the early 1360s, however, is the evidence for his centrality in the later 1360s, which gives the impression of building on the earlier period. Demetrius’ intermediary role between John V and Simon Atumano in 1364, for example, is followed by strong evidence of Demetrius’ continued involvement in negotiations with the papacy. Papal correspondence shows Demetrius involved in the negotiations at intervals prior to the journey to Rome.<sup>139</sup> Demetrius travelled with John to Italy, and was regarded there as John’s ‘imperial chancellor’.<sup>140</sup> He went on ahead with the patriarch Paul to greet Urban in Viterbo before

<sup>138</sup> Above, p. 66.

<sup>139</sup> Demetrius was addressed in one of Urban’s letters of 18th April 1365. Text: Halecki, *Empereur*, pp. 363 f., no. 5. The letter congratulates Demetrius on his return to the bosom of the church, urges perseverance, and hopes that Demetrius’ example might influence others. Urban also addressed Demetrius in one of the letters of 6th November 1367. Text: Halecki, *Empereur*, p. 368, no. 9.

<sup>140</sup> A letter of Urban V to John V, written from Viterbo on 2nd September 1369, refers to *dilectum filium nobilem virum Dimitrium Cydoni militem, imperii tui cancellarium*. Text: Halecki, *Empereur*, pp. 370 f., no. 12.

the arrival into Rome.<sup>141</sup> He was present when John V swore allegiance to Urban V on 18th October 1369, and was responsible for the translation of the profession of faith which John signed.<sup>142</sup> Demetrius’ own writings refer frequently to this journey: the *Oration to John Palaiologos*, for example, describes it at length. Further letters of Urban V, during and after the stay in Rome, witness to Urban’s appreciation of Demetrius’ contribution.<sup>143</sup> All this makes it clear that Demetrius was closely associated with the negotiations with the papacy and the journey to Rome.

That Demetrius was also closely involved in other aspects of policy in the late 1360s is also clear, principally from the *Pro subsidio*, dealing as it does with wide ranging foreign policy issues, and demonstrating awareness of and involvement in the developments surrounding Amadeo of Savoy and Louis of Hungary, as well as extensive awareness both of wider political relations and their historical roots.

The difficulty in all this, however, is that it is difficult to judge what weighting should be placed on Demetrius’ involvement. He was evidently present, aware and involved; but with what level of influence? And how should his role be regarded in comparison with that of other individuals? Many others were present and involved in the negotiations with the west,<sup>144</sup> and also have claims to be regarded as influential. Demetrius’ rank may have placed him in a central position—that at least is relatively clear, given the descriptions of his proximity to the emperor and the references to him as *mesazon* and imperial chancellor—but that does not necessarily make

<sup>141</sup> Halecki, *Empereur*, pp. 188 f.

<sup>142</sup> Halecki, *Empereur*, pp. 195 f., 349; also Tautu, *Acta Urbani PP V*, p. 288.

<sup>143</sup> In a letter of 9th March 1370, Urban conferred upon Demetrius income from a church in Patras, evidently in recognition of his services (Tautu, *Acta Urbani PP V*, nos. 187 & 187a, pp. 316–320. Demetrius is addressed as *clerus Constantinopolitanus*. See also Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, I*, p. 24, with references). A letter of 22nd June 1370, addressed to Demetrius in Venice, again acknowledges Demetrius’ profession of fidelity and hopes that his example will be followed by others (Halecki, *Empereur*, pp. 384 f., no. 20).

<sup>144</sup> Urban’s letters of 1365 also mention, for example, John Laskaris Kalopheros (on John, see Eszer, *Das abenteuerliche Leben des Johannes Laskaris Kalopheros*; also Halecki, *Empereur*, esp. chps. 4 & 11), Manuel Angelos and Maximos Kalopheros. The letters of 1367 also mention John V’s immediate relatives, Kantakuzenos, Strongilo, John the Prefect and Francesco Gattilusio. The Latin patriarch Paul, Simon Atumano and Amadeo were evidently all highly significant in the negotiations (On Simon, see Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, 2*, p. 357; also Fedalto, *Simone Atumano*. According to Fedalto, *Simone Atumano*, pp. 37 f., Simon was resident in Constantinople from 1359–1363. On Paul, see Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe, Vol I, 2*, pp. 360 ff.). Michael Strongilo, Philip Tzycandales, Francesco Gattilusio, Demetrius Palaiologos (*μέγας δομέστικος*), a certain Andronikos Palaiologos, Manuel Angelos (*ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου*) and Alexius Laskaris (*μέγας ἐπεριόρχης*) were all, like Demetrius, with John V in Italy (Tautu, *Acta Urbani PP V*, p. 289, Halecki, *Empereur*, pp. 191 f.).

clear the scope of his role and influence. The problem lies in the lack of knowledge of how court and government circles functioned in the period. It is always possible that Demetrius was relatively unimportant: that his functions did not give him personally any particular influence. It may be that Demetrius' writings, with their subjective account of Demetrius' role, give an unrepresentative version of the focus of government.

On the other hand, though this possibility must be admitted, this should not be allowed to obscure the rather stronger likelihood that Demetrius was indeed a figure of peculiar significance. There is a strong impression given that he was a close confidant of the emperor, and in a position to advise him. The hints that Demetrius was authorised to speak for the emperor, whether in negotiations or in political speeches, may accurately represent the breadth of his remit. Demetrius' involvement with the journey to Italy suggests that he was one of the principal Byzantine participants—John V's particular advisor—and that he was understood as such in the west. Demetrius' personal relationship with members of the imperial family also supports the idea that he was in a peculiarly favoured and familiar position. The *Oration to John Palaiologos*, and other laments over lost favour, suggest that Demetrius was conscious of having enjoyed, in the 1360s, significant influence. Although all this is scarcely quantifiable, and frequently subjective, it does combine to make it quite probable that the idea that Demetrius was highly significant is no exaggeration.

Attributing such significance to Demetrius is not, however, necessary in order to attribute wide significance to his writings. Even if Demetrius' own role should be downplayed, his writings in any case stand out as vital evidence concerning a period of rapid change for which there is little comparable contemporary comment. However the scope of his influence is interpreted, moreover, Demetrius was certainly in some way involved in central government, and as such his writings offer valuable insight into the preoccupations of government in the period. In a sense, Demetrius' writings even gain in significance if his personal role is downplayed: the less important he was in his own right—the less his rank, authority and personality might have protected him—the more likely it is that his writings genuinely reflect the general climate in governmental circles.

So even if the extent of Demetrius' own influence should be treated with caution, his writings must nevertheless be recognised as an invaluable source for understanding the period. This is particularly important given that the motivation and justification of John V's policies in the 1360s remains woefully obscure, despite their dramatic nature. In these circumstances, Demetrius' writings, emerging from governmental circles, and dealing with

concerns so closely related to John's policies, offer probably the best chance for understanding the character of contemporary debate. This need not mean that Demetrius' writings necessarily represent the 'official line', but they can at least offer insight into the parameters of the debate.

But if it is accepted that Demetrius was a leading figure in government, it is also possible to suggest a more direct relationship between Demetrius' writings and the policies of John's regime. What we may have in Demetrius' writings is a taste of the style of propaganda promoted by the regime in this period. Demetrius' arguments in favour of the west, ecclesiastically, historically and politically—his arguments for a fundamental relationship between Byzantines and Latins, the essential unity of the church, the necessity of alliance with the Latins, the motivation and reliability of western crusaders—may all have been arguments used to support and justify John's actions. Demetrius may, in effect, have been something of a government 'spin-doctor', suited to this by his communication skills, as well as by his belief in the cause, and understood as such by a public accustomed to regard him as a close associate of the emperor.

Either way—whether Demetrius' ideas should be regarded as government propaganda, or more generally as evidence for the character and preoccupations of the debate of the period—the question which remains to be asked is whether it is possible that the kind of debate suggested by Demetrius' writings was also familiar and credible in wider Byzantine society.

### 5.3. THE CREDIBILITY OF THE PRO-WESTERN PROPAGANDA

Up to this point, the emphasis has been on establishing the general lines of imperial policy vis-à-vis the west in the 1350s and 1360s, and Demetrius' role in developments. Although individual elements of the above account may be debatable, particularly those relating to the implications of Demetrius' own contribution, there is nothing essentially controversial about the idea that John V's government, and earlier governments, were in contact with the west, nor that there were groups within Byzantium open to western culture and willing to co-operate. In 1339, Barlaam commented on this in Avignon: in his view, it would not be difficult to persuade the intellectual elite even with regard to a theological settlement.<sup>145</sup>

However, as mentioned earlier, the more contentious question is how this relates to wider trends in Byzantine society. Can general openness to the

<sup>145</sup> Nicol, 'Byzantine requests for an oecumenical council', p. 77.

west—even perhaps tolerance of specific ideological approval of the west—be imputed to the population more generally, or at least a significant part of it? Not, clearly, if an assumption is made, as described in the introduction to this chapter, of a fundamental opposition of the Byzantine Orthodox population to the west, precluding genuine rapprochement. On this understanding, imperial activities in the 1350s and 1360s, and any pro-western message connected with them, general or specific, could not have enjoyed any significant degree of support. The intention in this section of this study is to discuss how realistic a view of the situation this is likely to be. Its purpose is not to deny the existence of anti-western attitudes, but simply to suggest that such attitudes need not represent the majority voice to the exclusion of other possibilities.

It is certainly easy to find evidence of Orthodox opposition to the Latins on various levels: in Gregoras,<sup>146</sup> for example, and other Orthodox writers, and in the dealings of the patriarchate. But although these are important, their scope cannot simply be assumed, without further consideration. They do not have automatic claim to representative status greater than other observable trends; their existence does not prove that other ideas were only of marginal importance. In some cases, indeed, evidence of Orthodox resistance may indicate that other ideas were enjoying considerable popularity, since it implies a need to refute persuasive counter-claims. Allowance must also be made for shifting trends and attitudes: changing conditions might well alter the balance between different groups and ideas, and it cannot be assumed that anti-western rhetoric had the same audience in the 1330s as it did in the 1350s or 1360s.

Two passages cited by Halecki illustrate this particularly well. Both come from reports made by the Venetian baillie of Constantinople, the first on 6th August 1354, the second on 16th March 1355. In the first report, the Greeks are described as so disillusioned by both sides in the civil war that they would prefer to submit to Venice—or even Hungary or Serbia—if this would provide security against the Turks and other threats.<sup>147</sup> The second report repeats the idea that the dire circumstances are encouraging the

<sup>146</sup> E.g. Nicol, 'Byzantine requests for an oecumenical council', pp. 74 ff., where it is taken as read that Gregoras' intransigence represents the standard Byzantine Orthodox response in 1334, with no mention made of Barlaam's role at the time.

<sup>147</sup> *De questo la universitat de Griesi dubia tanto, che considerando el perigolo, che i porra sottozaser, et la mala dispositione et cativo rezimento si del Cantacusero coma del Palleollogo, elli e disponudi no voller per signor nun l'un ni laltro, ma subiugarse a la dogal signoria vostra, se i lo podesse far, et che laida et deffension de vostre galie elli podesse aver. . . . quando questo no i podesse veginr fato, elli e disponudi clamar re d Omgaria vel quel de Raxia, azo che i sia defesi et*

Greeks to favour Venetian rule.<sup>148</sup> Clearly, the context of the reports makes them liable to promote Venetian interests, so they cannot be taken as an unbiased account of the strength of different popular trends.<sup>149</sup> However, the reports do give useful indications as to the main preoccupations of the period. There is an assumption that Greek public opinion is primarily influenced by two things: the Turkish threat and the civil war. For 1354/5, this is entirely credible, as is the idea that an arrangement with Venice was, given the alternatives on offer, a relatively acceptable potential solution. But at the same time, the emphasis in the reports that it is the extremity of the situation which drives the population to this also highlights the importance of immediate circumstances in shaping public reaction: ideas acceptable in 1354/5 need not necessarily apply under different circumstances.

This said, the Turkish threat, particularly vivid in 1354, was also a long-term danger. As such, it is possible that conditions in 1354 laid the foundations for a general shift in Greek attitudes to the west, at a deep-seated level. The effect of the taking of Gallipoli in 1354 has been discussed before.<sup>150</sup> If it *did* have the deep psychological effect on the Greeks suggested, establishing the Turks as the predominant threat to their very existence, this could have significantly altered attitudes towards westerners. It might even be reasonable to suggest that 1354 represents a 'defining moment' such as those described above,<sup>151</sup> along the lines of 1204: that 1354, by emphasising the Turkish threat above all, might have had the effect of relegating the polarity with the west to an inferior status, or even neutralising it. That is to say, it might have undermined the importance of 1204, replacing the Latin/Greek polarity with a Greek/Turkish one, and increasingly even a Christian/Moslem polarity, in which Latins and Greeks are associated.

On a less speculative level, a passage in Kantakuzenos' *History* regarding the situation prior to 1354 can be used both to illustrate how Greeks could

*varentadi da i Turchy, et ensir de la signoria, che i tien, et simel de Zenoesi, de li qual molto dubia. Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium, vol. III (Zagreb, 1884), pp. 266 f., no. 400.*

<sup>148</sup> *Questo jimperio à mala condition e quanto al uero è a grande extremitade, sì per caxon de Turchi che i da molestia grande e da tute parte, sì eciamdio per lo signior e reçimento che i à, del qual mal se contenta e la uniuersitate de lor voria la signoria de i-llatini, façando in prima mencion dela Segnoria et Comun nostro si la podesse auer. Lazzarini, V, 'La battaglia di Porto Longo', in *Nuovo archivio Veneto*, t. VIII, pt. 1 (1894), p. 35, no. IV.*

<sup>149</sup> Although it should be borne in mind that this idea was later adopted in other circumstances, for example when Thessalonica was voluntarily handed over to the Venetians in the 1420s. See Nicol, *Last Centuries*, pp. 335 f.

<sup>150</sup> Above, pp. 59 f.

<sup>151</sup> p. 170.



relate to western groups in different ways in different circumstances, and to draw attention to the practicalities of the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean, which have implications for the kinds of relationship which might apply.

The passage in question relates to naval engagements in the Golden Horn in 1352, between Genoese ships and a force made up of Venetians, Byzantines and Catalans.<sup>152</sup> In terms of public response, what is particularly interesting is how the *History* describes the treatment of the Catalan wounded. According to Kantakuzenos, they were brought into 'Byzantium' (i.e. Constantinople) and taken in and cared for by the inhabitants<sup>153</sup>—not just by the powerful, or the religious guesthouses or hostels normally set aside to accommodate strangers, but by the common people: workers, artisans, everyone.<sup>154</sup> Around two thousand Catalans had lost their ships: of these, most were repatriated, but over three hundred chose to remain in Kantakuzenos' service as mercenaries.<sup>155</sup> The passage is particularly noteworthy for the way it suggests that, under favourable conditions, there could be popular sympathy towards Catholic westerners, with differentiation in attitudes towards different groups. Moreover, it implies the establishment of at least one western community under positive conditions likely to encourage integration into Byzantine life.

The passage also gives a useful illustration of the general conditions of Byzantine political existence at the time. Finding Byzantine, Catalan, Venetian and Genoese forces in conflict in Constantinopolitan waters is no surprise. As was pointed out earlier,<sup>156</sup> the Eastern Mediterranean was a

<sup>152</sup> Schopen, *Ioannis Cantacuzeni Eximperatoris Historiarum Liber IV*, pp. 218–228. The Venetian commander is presented negatively, with criticism of his commitment, strategic decisions and courage. His decisions result in the allies losing the initiative gained in a previous engagement in which the Catalans fought bravely, and suffered heavy casualties. The Catalan commander is presented positively, and he and Kantakuzenos agree in criticising Venetian shortcomings.

<sup>153</sup> Κατελάνοι δὲ εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν μάχην τοὺς τε τραυματίας, ὅσοι ἦσαν, καὶ τοὺς νενοσηκότας, παμπόλλους ὄντας, ἤγαγον εἰς Βυζάντιον. καὶ φιλοφρόνως ἄγαν οἱ Βυζάντιοι ἐδέξαντο καὶ ἐθεράπευσαν μάλα φιλανθρώπως... Ibid., p. 225, 22–p. 226, 2. This is contrasted with the cruelty of the Venetian commander, who is described as wholly ignoring the needs of his allies. Βυζάντιοι τὸνναντίον ἅπαν ἐπεδείκνυντο πρὸς Κατελάνους, τῆς τοσαύτης οἰκτείροντες κακοπραγίας. Ibid., p. 227, 7 ff.

<sup>154</sup> οὐ μόνον οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ φροντιστήρια ἱερὰ καὶ οἱ πρὸς κοινὴν ὑποδοχὴν τῶν ξένων κατεσκευασμένοι οἴκοι... ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν τοῦ δήμου πλείστοι καὶ τῶν ἐργαστηρίους καὶ τέχνης προσεχόντων, μᾶλλον δὲ σύμπαντες ἐφιλονείκουν, ἄλλος ἄλλον ὑπερβαλέσθαι τῇ περὶ τοὺς δυσπραγοῦντας φιλοτιμίᾳ... Ibid., p. 227, 14–21.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., p. 228, 1–6.

<sup>156</sup> Above, p. 70.

patchwork of jurisdictions, ranging from Latin strongholds of long standing such as Cyprus to Franks in the Peloponnese, trading colonies along the coasts, smaller Latin principalities in the islands, Hospitaller jurisdiction over Rhodes, and the wildcard represented by Catalan-controlled Athens. Constantinople directly faced Genoese Pera. In such circumstances, episodes of collaboration and confrontation between Byzantines and Latins such as that described in the passage from Kantakuzenos were a matter of course. Moreover, foreign mercenaries serving different leaders were also a matter of course, as in the case of the Catalans mentioned by Kantakuzenos. Military and political conditions thus provided for considerable contact between the different political jurisdictions.

Contact between the different populations was not limited to these levels. The situation was further complicated by the complex distribution of ethnic and religious groups, in some cases for historical reasons, in other cases for economic reasons. Latins were not confined to areas under western control, nor Greeks to Greek administrations: changes in territorial possessions over the previous centuries had left Greeks living in Latin-ruled territories, and vice versa. There were numerous dynastic alliances across the various divides, including Andronikos III's marriage to Anne of Savoy, which made John V cousin to Amadeo VI. Economic interests led to numerous colonies across the region. Constantinople had well-established colonies within its walls: Pseudo-Kodinos shows representatives of Galata, Venice, Pisa and Ancona integrated into Byzantine court ritual.<sup>157</sup> All this and more inevitably created complex cultural and ethnic mixtures in local areas.

Different types of contact do not all function at the same level, and need not imply similar levels of integration. Diplomatic and military cooperation do not necessarily reflect harmonious relationships, but can be simply a response to necessity. The same can be said of dynastic alliances, which need not result in closer cultural integration, but can be a matter of simple assimilation. Interaction of populations at a grass roots level can take many forms, from simple functional arrangements between clearly distinct populations to the blurring of distinctions through intermarriage, cultural exchange and credal syncretism etc—even to the constitution of a new identity. It cannot be assumed that western presence in the Eastern Mediterranean would automatically lead to specific forms of integration between the populations.

<sup>157</sup> Verpeaux, J., *Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité des Offices, Introduction, texte et traduction* (Éditions du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, Paris, 1976), pp. 208 ff. and 234 ff.

However, it is important to recognise that western presence and western political influence had long been an integral part of the region, and that western and Greek populations lived in close proximity. Given this, it is clear both that the relationship between Latin and Greek populations was important to developments in the region and that such relations cannot be conceived of as affecting only the elite. This is not to say that interaction between the populations would have been the same across the area, and at different social levels. Quite the opposite: the region's political and ethnic make-up, together with different historical conditions, argues in favour of divergent results, depending on local circumstances.

However, the very patchwork nature of the region can be seen to some extent as a potential stabilizing factor in relations between different populations within local jurisdictions. With political and mercantile interests crossing political jurisdictions, external influences existed potentially able to protect minority groups across the region by linking them to wider interests. Clearly, at times this might have negative results: it could make the minority group scapegoat for the actions of the wider community. But where the balance was such that creating conflict was inadvisable, it could also act as a check on local conditions, providing some security for the minority group. In a situation in which Byzantine concerns were dependent upon relations with numerous Latin neighbours, therefore, the situation of Latins in Byzantine territories is likely to have been generally favourable. Moreover, there would also often have been considerable material advantage to be had from co-operation between the populations.

All that this suggests, of course, is that general conditions in the Eastern Mediterranean as the fourteenth century progressed *could* support and encourage peaceful co-existence and practical co-operation, on various levels, between the different populations. It need not imply any deeper change in attitudes: it need not indicate that the general Byzantine population ceased to regard the west, and local Latins, with hostility and distrust, despite enforced co-operation. However, there may be grounds for suggesting that, in Constantinople at least, there *were* positive developments on a more ideological level, affecting not just the elite, but also the population more generally.

One indication of this is given by Philip de Bindo Incontri. Writing in 1359, Philip comments on changes he has observed. In the past, he says, the Greeks—clergy and people—shunned ‘us’ as excommunicates and heretics, refusing to allow ‘us’ access to their churches or to have the slightest contact with ‘us’. Now, after ten years’ effort on Philip’s part, which he has spent visiting Greek monasteries and engaging in theological disputation,

Philip has become familiar with them, and the Greeks are now welcoming to the extent that they will eat and drink with ‘us’.<sup>158</sup>

Philip’s comments can be tied in with the progress of Byzantine-papal negotiations. Given that his comments date to the late 1350s, this would place the improvements he mentions in Kantakuzenos’ reign and the early years of John V—years in which both regimes seem to have been intent on improving relations with the papacy. Philip’s account corroborates, from a different angle, the idea that the policies of Kantakuzenos and John did have a wider effect on the mood in the capital, rather than being unrelated to popular trends. Demetrius’ activities, including his involvement with Philip in the mid-1350s, and the impression he gives that these were accompanied by considerable debate, also tie in well with this, as does Kantakuzenos’ sponsorship of Demetrius’ work. Moreover, an Orthodox account of the situation in 1357 also supports the idea that discussions were possible, and that Latin clerics could be welcomed to Byzantine Orthodox monasteries and churches.<sup>159</sup>

However, it could be objected that this still does not bear on more general trends: it only shows communication at elite levels—and this, as mentioned earlier, is widely accepted. Is there anything to demonstrate that the changes were more far-reaching?

It would be extremely difficult to prove such a point. The Venetian reports cited earlier, for example, certainly give the impression that there was considerable general support for the idea of an agreement with the Venetians. But

<sup>158</sup> *Hoc etiam in modernis temporibus experimento probavi in eisdem. Nam antequam tractarem cum eis, ipsorum episcopi, calogeri et sacerdotes ac etiam populus ita fugiebant nostros sicut excommunicatos aut hereticos, et magna briga erat etiam quod permitterent nos intrare solum ad videndum monasteria eorum vel ecclesias. Si autem accideret quod aliquis nostrum siteret, vix inveniebatur qui daret ei aquam; sed cum bibisset, fragebant aut proiciebant vas, et raro inveniebantur qui nobiscum in aliquot communicarent. Cum autem cepissem cum eis familiariter tractare circumeundo monasteria eorum, stando cum eis familiariter, disputando cum eis, respondendo dictis eorum, infra X annos ita domesticavi eos, quod modo in nullo nos vitant, ymo familiariter comedunt et bibunt nobiscum et nos cum eis.* Kaeppli, ‘Deux nouveaux ouvrages’, p. 179. For the date of this, *ibid.*, p. 171. For the importance of table fellowship, see Kolbaba, T.M., *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins* (University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois, 2000), chapter 7.

<sup>159</sup> Darrouzès, J., ‘Conference sur la primauté du Pape a Constantinople en 1357’, *REB* 19 (1961), pp. 76–109, gives a text which purports to record a debate in 1357 between Peter Thomas and a monk named Athanasius, in which Athanasius defends the Orthodox perspective on papal claims. Despite strong differences of opinion, and a strong Orthodox bias on the part of the writer, the debate is presented as generally amicable. Moreover, it takes place at the Pantokrator monastery, which Peter Thomas was visiting both to admire the view and to pray: *ἐνεκα θεάς και προσκυνήσεως* (*ibid.*, p. 86).

clearly, it would serve Venetian interests to use this as a pretext justifying interference. Equally, they may have been led to believe this was true by a Byzantine faction favourable to Venice, whose interests would also have been served by such exaggeration. This must be borne in mind when dealing with accounts which purport to record public opinion. This difficulty applies at least as much to ideological issues, which operate even more on an intellectual and propagandist level.

However, this said, it is still worth considering whether Philip's comments are relevant to trends in public opinion. Philip's comments imply that he is speaking not just of elite trends, but of more widespread change in attitudes, connected to changes in the elite. When Philip describes the earlier attitude towards 'us', he describes it as coming from bishops, monks and priests, but also from the *populus*, thus suggesting that he means Byzantine society across the board, clergy and the people. It could be argued that the distinction is between clergy and laity, and that the *populus* could be simply the elite. But this is an unlikely use of the word, and the mundane image of rejection Philip uses (no one willing to offer one of 'us' a drink of water) suggests that he has the wider population in mind. The implication is then that the earlier relationship between religious and lay groups with regard to attitudes towards the west continues to hold in a situation in which attitudes amongst the Orthodox clergy have become more flexible.

In some respects, Philip's comments are restricted in scope. All they indicate is that some Orthodox clergy were willing to engage in discussion, and that their example could bring about minor changes in practical relations between Latins and the Byzantine population. There is no talk of resultant conversions, or theological or ecclesiological concessions. If anything, however, this makes Philip's account all the more believable: a fully-fledged piece of propaganda would be more likely to vaunt specific successes, rather than speak in such muted terms. Philip's account is perhaps of more value precisely because it is restricted in scope. Above all, it points to the validity of seeing a correspondence between the stance adopted by the religious elite and the attitude of the more general population.

Philip's account does, however, raise a difficulty with regards to earlier comments. Philip only talks about very recent changes in attitude, and this could undermine the suggestion made above concerning the pre-existence of conditions facilitating co-operation between Greeks and Latins. However, this depends on who 'we' are in the passage. If Philip means 'Latins' or Catholics in general, this would imply that the Greek population had until recently totally ostracised the Latins. But there could be a narrower interpretation: Philip may mean Latin clerics more specifically, or perhaps

even his own order. If so, his comments take on a different character: rather than ruling out earlier practical co-operation between Greeks and Latins, they describe unwillingness to engage with the Catholic religious establishment. The repeated stress on religious disputation in the passages supports this idea.

If this interpretation is valid, Philip's own position gives the passage further significance. He was no average Catholic cleric, but the pope's inquisitor in Romania.<sup>160</sup> For him to be able to visit Greek monasteries and be welcomed into Greek circles is of greater significance than if he had been a humble friar: it implies that even papal representatives could be regarded amicably. It could be suggested that Philip, given his position and imperial diplomatic concerns, might have been fed an artificial line by the Byzantine authorities, in order to advance Byzantine interests. However, this is probably not an adequate explanation. Philip's stay in Constantinople was not a one-off event, like a papal embassy; he describes having dealings with Greek clergy across the city over an extended period of time. It seems unlikely that the authorities could have engineered the situation sufficiently to give Philip a false impression. At the very least, therefore, some clergy must have been willing to have dealings with the inquisitor; and this suggests marked advance on an ideological level.

Philip de Bindo Incontri's comments, then, suggest the existence in Constantinople in the 1350s of a receptiveness to the west on a theological/ideological level both amongst some Orthodox clergy and some sectors of the wider population. This is not to imply acceptance of Catholic claims and propositions, just as practical co-operation need not imply a blurring of identity between Greek and Latin populations. But it does suggest that potential for practical association between Greeks and Latins was also reflected in potential for engagement on more ideological levels.

What has been suggested so far is that there were probably fertile conditions for development in the relationship between Byzantines and Latins in the mid-1350s. The Ottoman advance created a threat sufficient to encourage Byzantines to re-evaluate the relationship between Greeks and Latins. The civil wars in Byzantium left a legacy of factionalism and unrest liable to discredit the existing regime, as the reports of the Venetian baillie indicate. The fragmented nature of the region meant that the Byzantines could not operate without reference to western interests. On the more positive side,

<sup>160</sup> See Loenertz, 'Fr. Philippe de Bindo Incontri', esp. pp. 268 ff.

there were indications that Byzantine interests, external and internal, might benefit from co-operation with the west. Thus there was considerable incentive for both practical and ideological responses to produce a favourable framework for dealings with the west.

This is not to say that pro-western trends went unchallenged. All that is being suggested is that anti-western sentiment has no automatic claim to being the principal popular trend. The period is characterised by fragmentation, rather than consolidation. In the mid-1350s, the Byzantine population was being pulled in different directions. Realistically, the future was bound to involve co-operation with/subjugation to either Catholics, predatory Orthodox, or the Ottomans. None of these alternatives was ideal, but some kind of choice had to be made. Even on a simple political level, this made for fragmentation and factionalism, with different groups preferring different options.

This fragmentation, moreover, also applies on the more ideological level. Any of the various political solutions would require dealing with the non-Orthodox, and therefore political fragmentation would naturally tend to be reflected in the religious sphere. If, in these circumstances, Byzantine Orthodoxy could be seen responding in a united fashion, presenting a united front of anti-western sentiment, this would still make it possible to assume that the general population were consistently anti-western. However, in the 1350s, as will be seen in Chapter 6, the Byzantine Orthodox establishment was in serious difficulties, and it does not seem that a consistent Orthodox response had yet emerged, much less one which ostracised the Catholic west. In the absence of such a united response, it is difficult to believe that the ideological response of the population is likely to have been any less fragmented than its political response.

The question of the strength and unity of Orthodox opinion is further complicated by the question of demographics. Too little is known of the make-up of the population in Byzantine territories, but this is evidently important when it comes to trends in public opinion. If, for example, a significant proportion of the population was of Latin extraction (even if converted to Orthodoxy), this would have implications for the relative strength of the 'native Orthodox' voice, and any in-built anti-western feeling. The proportion of other groups—Slavs, Turks—would also affect the relative strength of different interest groups, as would levels of integration. Demographics, moreover, can fluctuate over time, especially in unstable political situations such as that of the 1350s.

The 'Byzantine' population, therefore, should not necessarily be conceived of as exclusively Greek, or exclusively Orthodox, with anything else belong-

ing in a different category; other interest groups are also important. Other groups may have been large enough to significantly alter the political and cultural balance, or even if limited numerically may have had disproportional influence. Unfortunately, this question is ultimately unanswerable; but it is a very important consideration, with implications for the nature of any potential Orthodox response.

The intention so far has been to establish that there was, in the mid-1350s, a basic potential for amicable dealings with westerners in some sectors of Byzantine society. There has been little discussion of more positive endorsements of the west, particularly acceptance of the validity of western Christian thinking, or 'conversion'. However, what has been said so far does also provide for conditions allowing individuals to take such an approach. If the situation in the region could, in certain circumstances, provide some degree of protection for minorities, it is likely that many Catholic minorities in Orthodox areas could live without significant interference. This in turn suggests that sympathetic Greeks could perhaps also find some degree of immunity in association with established Catholic communities. This does not necessarily follow, of course; attitudes to apostates can be notoriously harsh, even where general relations between communities are relatively peaceable. But it is possible. If absolutely necessary, however, 'converts' could slip into some nearby Latin-administered territory—as some, indeed, did. Thus even this basic framework provides scope for individuals to 'convert' with relative impunity.

The discussion so far, however, has concentrated on the basic conditions pertaining in the mid-1350s, without the additional elements brought in by the developments of the later 1350s and the 1360s described and discussed earlier in this chapter. What must now be asked is how these developments might have affected the situation. Is it possible that government policies and increased positive dealings with the west built on existent potential for favourable relations, in such a way that Demetrius' ideas concerning the relationship between Byzantium and the west were reasonably credible at the time?

The first question to be considered, in dealing with the developments of the 1350s and 1360s, is what difference might have been made by the establishment of John V on the throne, and by the early years of his reign. If, as suggested above, internal political factionalism was a major factor alienating the population and inclining them towards the west, how did this change with the establishment of the Palaiologan heir?

In the short term, internal conflict clearly remained an issue: Matthew Kantakuzenos, for example, did not renounce his claims until the end of

1357, after causing considerable disruption.<sup>161</sup> It is probably reasonable to assume some degree of insecurity to the end of the 1350s. But John V's incorporation of figures from Kantakuzenos' administration—such as Demetrius himself—into his government does suggest an attempt to reconcile factions; and one might expect this, with time, to improve public attitudes to the regime, and therefore lessen the importance of dissatisfaction with internal factionalism as a factor in public opinion.

But it is precisely in the early years, when instability was still an issue, that John decided to enter into very direct dealings with the papacy. At the minimum, this confirms that some level of dealings with the papacy had become a normative part of Byzantine life, unlikely to create dangerous polarisation, as at the time of Andronikos II. However, this could be taken further: it could imply that bowing to western influences was more important to the security of John's position than the fear of negative reaction from his Orthodox Byzantine subjects—that anti-western sentiment was of relatively little influence. But even on a more neutral reading of the situation, John's policies are likely to have strengthened pro-western sentiment in subsequent years. If there was, as suggested, already potential for pro-western attitudes to develop, the addition of imperial support would have enabled them to flourish. Moreover, the direction of John's policies would have given them more scope to develop along specifically religious lines.

One important consideration in John V's approach to the papacy in 1355, of course, was the threat from Serbia. The Serbs under Stephen Dušan had long been taking advantage of Byzantium's weak position to increase their territories, and around this time Dušan had been making advances to the papacy himself.<sup>162</sup> John V's attempt to secure recognition from the papacy in part represents an attempt to pre-empt Serbia's adoption into the Catholic world. But this does not undermine what has already been said. It further illustrates the importance of Byzantium's place in a framework together with the west. It is a useful reminder of the problems Byzantium faced also in the Orthodox world, as well as showing another Orthodox power flirting with the Catholic west.

If there existed this potential for favourable attitudes to the west in 1354/5, and John V's policies encouraged such attitudes, the next question is how subsequent developments affected the progress of such attitudes. Given that security was a primary consideration, a key question is whether co-operation with the west continued to be perceived as the best solution. In this respect,

<sup>161</sup> Nicol, *Last Centuries*, pp. 248 f.

<sup>162</sup> Nicol, *Last Centuries*, pp. 254 f.

fluctuation can be observed. It is possible, for example, that Peter Thomas' activities, particularly the raid on Lampsakos,<sup>163</sup> initially fuelled pro-western sentiment in the late 1350s. Hopes may well have remained high for the latter part of the decade; but then in the 1360s there seems to have been considerable disappointment, as Demetrius suggests in L93.<sup>164</sup>

It is also possible that the early 1360s gave impetus to the development of more substantial Orthodox opposition, especially with the events on Cyprus. However, if this is the case, the question is then whether this led to the Orthodox opposition taking precedence permanently. It is possible that any disillusion in the early 1360s may not have had so much to do with specifically theological issues as to do with the failure of Peter Thomas to produce substantial support for the Byzantines. If the question of security was of primary importance before in determining reactions to the west, decreasing hope in military support would no doubt have allowed the Orthodox opposition to gain some ground, but it is also likely that subsequent evidence of western military aid materialising—as it did with Amadeo—would have again relegated the Orthodox opposition to a weaker position.

That military aid remained a decisive factor in public concerns is supported by John V's journey to Hungary in 1365. It is sometimes implied that 1363/4 marks a low point in Byzantine faith in western intervention, which was only revived when Amadeo's intervention brought the longed-for demonstration of western goodwill and effectiveness. However, although Amadeo's intervention is important, it should be remembered that John's journey to Hungary preceded it, and, to judge by Demetrius' comments at the end of the *Pro subsidio*, John's intention to persuade Catholic Hungary to send substantial forces was well known. It does not seem, therefore, that such attempts ceased to be a major concern, and countenanced by public opinion. This suggests that any disillusion regarding western aid was outweighed by the necessity to hope in it. Given that the Ottoman conquests from 1362 onwards were rapidly cutting off the Byzantines in Thrace,<sup>165</sup> this is unsurprising. John's dealings with Hungary suggest that even before Amadeo's intervention, conditions continued to urge that Byzantine interests belonged in close association with the Catholic world.

1369, however, emphasises an overtly religious aspect to John's dealings with the west, suggesting that this too was in some way compatible with the circumstances. It is tempting to see 1369 largely in relation to Amadeo

<sup>163</sup> Above, p. 182.

<sup>164</sup> Above, pp. 195 f.

<sup>165</sup> See Pitcher, *Historical Geography*, pp. 42 f. (and map XI).

of Savoy's activities in 1366/7: to assume that this made the Catholic west appear so positively that the resultant shift in popular opinion enabled John to proceed far further in religious agreement with the papacy. To some extent, this may be true. However, it would be misleading to emphasise the religious aspects of the late 1360s without drawing attention to the permanent relevance of the religious factor. Military dealings with the west, if carried out with reference to the papacy, automatically carried some religious implications. Byzantium's attempts in the fourteenth century to secure some kind of status within western-orientated political and military frameworks inevitably had implications regarding willingness to accept some kind of common religious framework. Thus John V's activities throughout his reign, not just in the late 1360s, suggest that Byzantine popular opinion could tolerate negotiations based on the idea of a religious, as well as political, connection with the Catholic west.

If this is true, Demetrius' ideas may have had considerable resonance in the 1360s precisely because they provide a way of understanding the Catholic west and the Byzantines as part of the same ideological framework. On a political level, this is done by calling the westerners 'Romans'. By doing this—instead of calling them 'Latins', 'Franks' or 'barbarians'—Demetrius presents them as equal to the Byzantines, who have long considered themselves 'Romans'; co-heirs of a heroic and noble heritage. This goes against a long tradition of derogatory phraseology applied to westerners, and as such would presumably have been resisted by adherents of that tradition. But this does not necessarily mean that Demetrius' version was without appeal. It is quite possible that it was widely welcomed, precisely because it served a necessary purpose not allowed for by other rhetorical traditions: because it enabled a positive interpretation of current circumstances. To view westerners in this way could justify and even ennoble dependence on the west experienced at many levels of society, and enable positive representation of personal dealings between Latin and Greeks. The practical situation in the 1360s may thus have made at least broad lines of Demetrius' presentation both popular and credible.

The theological aspects of Demetrius' arguments are rather more difficult to deal with. If the credibility of Demetrius' arguments is to be measured by the degree to which he persuaded Byzantines to accept the tenets of Catholicism wholesale, his audience was probably limited. There can be little doubt that in his acceptance of the western version of disputed doctrines, Demetrius would have been opposed by most Orthodox. However, if the question of credibility is taken to mean a more general acceptance of an ideological relationship between Byzantium and the west—an acceptance of

premises rather than conclusions, so to speak—it is quite possible to suggest that Demetrius enjoyed considerable credibility; that he at least spoke within the mainstream debate.

Some aspects of Demetrius' ideas could even have gained him a hearing amongst the more hard-line Orthodox. His theological approach allows for positive appreciation of the Orthodox tradition. His argument for the unity of Christendom is based not on the superiority of the Catholic church, but on shared identity and shared belief. In the face of the Turkish threat, and with the increasing involvement of Byzantium with western allies, this could have resonated even with the convinced Orthodox. Strictly speaking, the west remained in error, from the Orthodox point of view; but it is very difficult for any mainstream Christian tradition to reject the ideal of unity, even while disputing how to achieve it. Major Orthodox figures in the fourteenth century took this very seriously on a theological level. Demetrius, in viewing the relationship between Orthodox and Catholic churches as an important issue, open to debate, could have still enjoyed credibility with an Orthodox audience.

Moreover, it is possible to suggest that Demetrius' ideas may have been particularly credible precisely because of their scope for admitting disagreement while enabling co-operation. This was seen particularly when it was suggested that the *Apologia I* operates on a second level concerned with the compatibility of pro-western ideas with Byzantine loyalty, and the importance of freedom of conscience. If this is one of Demetrius' main preoccupations, it is possible that this would have been widely welcomed by much of his audience, except the most extreme, because it accepts the importance of the theological differences without making agreement necessary to co-operation. Again, perhaps the strongest indication that this attitude may have been prevalent in the 1360s is John V's 'conversion': evidently John could take the steps he did without this leading to turmoil in Byzantine society. This could perhaps best be explained by suggesting that the general climate allowed for toleration; that there was a general sense that the overall framework could allow different personal decisions.

The above discussion thus suggests that the general lines of Demetrius' approach, if not the specific doctrinal detail, could have enjoyed a considerable degree of credibility in the 1350s and 1360s. The circumstances required that Byzantium, if it were to resist the Ottomans, function, at least in practical terms, together with the west. On this level, the period can probably best be understood as characterised by close contact between Byzantium and the west, rather than polarisation. This, moreover, can scarcely have been a concern limited to the elite: much of the general population would

have been forced to make a practical response to the situation. The question of the relationship between Byzantines and westerners would have been a mainstream issue. Against this backdrop, Demetrius' ideas, as an attempt to deal with questions at the core of Byzantine life in the period, are neither anomalous nor counter-cultural, but simply represent one approach within a spectrum of possible ideas based on the idea of connection, rather than division, between eastern and western Christendom. As such, they deserve to be taken seriously as evidence of how Byzantine society responded to the rapidly changing political and cultural circumstances. If anything, the responses to the situation most lacking in credibility are those which fall outside this spectrum, and refuse to deal reasonably with the west.

## CHAPTER SIX

### ORTHODOX DEVELOPMENTS

#### INTRODUCTION

The suggestions made at the end of Chapter 5 are no more than a partial explanation of the situation; Byzantine developments in the period cannot be read solely in terms of the relationship with the west, but must take into account many other factors. The intention was simply to demonstrate that it would be misleading to downplay evidence of positive re-evaluation of Byzantine-western relations in the 1350s and 1360s on the assumption that polarisation between east and west was the norm. Chapter 5 has sought to locate positive re-working of east-west relations within mainstream Byzantine developments, as a credible response to changing circumstances. Chapter 6 is intended to support this by illustrating why Byzantine Orthodoxy in the period is probably best read not as presenting a clear and cohesive opposition to this, but as itself in a transitional period, at times struggling against serious difficulties. The intention is not to deny the importance of Orthodoxy, but to demonstrate that it should not be regarded as a simple, united and predictable phenomenon.

Chapter 6 will discuss the situation of the Byzantine Orthodox church in the period, focusing first on the problems posed by the Palamite settlement and political and factional struggles affecting the patriarchate, before moving on to discuss the extent to which more positive factors may have offset these difficulties.

#### 6.1. DIVISIONS WITHIN ORTHODOXY

##### 6.1.1. *The Hesychast Background*

Central to any account of Orthodoxy in the fourteenth century is the 'hesychast' controversy. This controversy revolved around confrontation between Barlaam of Calabria and Gregory Palamas, whose debates in the late 1330s, in part concerning Barlaam's attacks on the 'hesychasts', led to the

establishment of Palamas' doctrine of divine energies<sup>1</sup> as official Orthodox doctrine in successive councils in Constantinople in 1341, 1347 and 1351.<sup>2</sup>

One reading of the hesychast controversy would be that after the council of 1351 'Palamite' or 'hesychast' doctrine should be understood as equivalent to Orthodoxy,<sup>3</sup> and that the 'triumph of Palamism' of 1351 was definitive and absolute: any subsequent dissent was minimal.<sup>4</sup> This account, however, scarcely does justice to the complexity of the situation in these years, and indeed of subsequent developments. In particular, it fails to provide an adequate picture of the years immediately postdating 1351, which is the period of most importance to the present study.

The term 'hesychasm' itself presents problems. In terms of fourteenth-century developments, it is often used—as above—in such a way as to suggest a clearly defined monastic-influenced party, whose agenda can be identified with Palamite doctrinal formulations, and whose vindication in the synods made it thereafter the authoritative voice of Orthodoxy. Whether this picture is sustainable is, however, questionable.

Consideration of the background to 'hesychasm' demonstrates the nature of the problems involved in dealing with it as a historical phenomenon. The word derives from *hesychia* (ἡσυχία), which can be translated along the lines of 'quietude', and has an extensive history, in both Christian and non-Christian texts, meaning that it can be found in a wide variety of contexts. However, it can also be used very specifically. With its various cognate forms, including verbal forms, it can signify monastic life, particularly soli-

<sup>1</sup> For a summary, see Meyendorff, J., *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, Revised Second Edition (Fordham University Press, New York, 1979), pp. 77 f.; for a longer analysis, idem, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, pp. 202–227.

<sup>2</sup> For the history of these years, see Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, Part One, passim; idem., *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 97 ff.; Papadakis, *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy*, pp. 287–293; Nicol, *Last Centuries*, pp. 210–215, 231–234.

<sup>3</sup> For example, in Donald Nicol's words: 'the decisions embodied in the Tomos of 1351 were soon accepted as binding by all the communities of the Orthodox faith,' and 'by the end of the fourteenth century the doctrine of Palamas had been absorbed into the generally accepted teaching of the Orthodox church' (Nicol, *Last Centuries*, p. 233). This is echoed by Papadakis: 'there is no doubt that the council of 1351 marks the final official canonization of hesychast doctrine,' and 'it was henceforth dogma and was accepted as such . . . throughout the Orthodox world by the end of the century. A final endorsement was to follow in 1368 when the church decided to canonize Palamas as well' (Papadakis, *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy*, pp. 292 f.).

<sup>4</sup> Meyendorff supports the idea of the isolation of anti-Palamite voices when he names Gregoras as the 'last leader of anti-Palamism in Byzantium' (Meyendorff, 'Spiritual Trends in Byzantium', p. 102); although elsewhere he can be rather more forthcoming regarding continued dissent.

tary monasticism.<sup>5</sup> It can be associated with the practice of 'inner prayer', which itself can be further specified as imageless prayer, a strong tradition in Orthodox spiritual writings; with the use specifically of the 'Jesus prayer', which also has a lengthy pedigree; and with certain bodily techniques.<sup>6</sup> It is also often associated with traditions of spiritual fatherhood, and with the attainment of a vision of divine light, which became particularly controversial in the fourteenth century debate.

If the various levels of 'hesychasm' are placed alongside the description above of the historical side to fourteenth century hesychasm, it immediately becomes clear why there is a difficulty in linking the basic concept with a specific manifestation. *Hesychia*, it would seem, is one of those terms which can be used in widely differing circumstances, but which have also been appropriated by certain groups and used in a highly charged ideological manner.<sup>7</sup> Such terms can be extremely treacherous, particularly where the use of the term by a given group is in the process of becoming established. The original meaning does not necessarily cease to exist, but it is naturally easier to identify more restricted and exclusive uses of the term, because they are deliberately defined by their proponents; and this can result in the term being understood with hindsight according to a later, more established, definition. In the period of transition, the tensions between restrictive and general usages of such a term become difficult to interpret.

In the case of hesychasm, there is a level at which the key characteristics of the tradition are largely—although not exclusively<sup>8</sup>—non-doctrinal, at least in any controversial sense. The focus of hesychasm as an extended tradition is monastic practice: it does not necessarily have specific doctrinal content except insofar as, being Christian, it should conform to accepted Christian doctrine, and, being a form of monasticism, it can be expected to concentrate on doctrinal issues more relevant to monastic life—doctrines

<sup>5</sup> On the long-term spiritual background of hesychasm, see Hausherr, I., 'L'Hésychasme, Étude de spiritualité', *OCP* 22 (1956), pp. 5–40, 247–285.

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, p. 96.

<sup>7</sup> Other examples of this are, perhaps, 'catholic' and 'orthodox'! Demetrius uses *hesychia* and its cognates in varying contexts. In the *Oratio ad Ioannem Palaeologum*, for example, he uses it to describe the life of scholarly enterprise he desires to embark on in Rome. Loenertz, *Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance*, I p. 21, section 21, line 31. In the *Apologia IV* he uses it when he says that he would have wished to keep his silence in the face of Philotheos' attacks, but was driven to respond. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 313, 2 and p. 314, 24.

<sup>8</sup> In particular, this does not apply to the question of the vision of divine light: vision of the divine is a highly controversial point, emerging as such at different junctures in both Orthodox and Catholic theology.



related, for example, to ascetic practice and the nature and purpose of prayer. Given this, it is difficult to see that that nature of hesychasm allows it to be exclusively equated with the specific doctrine of the Palamite councils. Clearly, proponents of Palamism would require hesychasm to be doctrinally Palamite in order to be considered Orthodox, since for them Palamism is Orthodox doctrine. But this does not mean that hesychasm can otherwise be equated with Palamism, particularly in the years surrounding the hesychast controversy, when the orthodoxy of Palamism was not yet as established as it became later.

With regard to the pedigree of hesychasm, Palamites of the fourteenth century certainly understood themselves as part of an influential hesychast tradition. Gregory Palamas gives one version of the pedigree of hesychasm, associating it with key figures: the patriarch Athanasius I, Theoleptos of Philadelphia, Nikephoros the Hesychast, and a number of monks of Mount Auxentios.<sup>9</sup> Besides this version, there is also another version, which sees it as something of a new movement in the fourteenth century, with Gregory of Sinai re-establishing a tradition which had all but died out. This approach is based on the *Vita* of Gregory of Sinai.<sup>10</sup> What emerges from these accounts is precisely what one would expect, given the nature of hesychasm: an understanding of hesychasm as an ancient and important tradition of Byzantine monasticism. These pedigrees are clearly intended in part to legitimise the activities of Palamas and his supporters, and no doubt Palamites sincerely felt that they represented the authentic voice of the tradition; but this does not prove that all hesychasts supported Palamas' writings and the Palamite Tomes.<sup>11</sup>

A few examples are enough to illustrate this. Akindynos, who became one of Palamas' most outspoken opponents, himself came from the hesychast tradition, admired it, and defended it: he did not criticise the tradition, but

<sup>9</sup> Meyendorff, 'Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century', p. 159. Philotheos Kokkinos, in his *Encomium* of Palamas, also mentions that Theoleptos of Philadelphia introduced Palamas to the physical method of prayer. See Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, p. 17.

<sup>10</sup> The *Vita* was written by Kallistos I, who also composed the *Life* of Theodosius of Trnovo. See below, 304. Meyendorff ('Spiritual Trends in Byzantium', pp. 96 f.; idem, 'Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century', pp. 158 f.) considers this account to have been somewhat tendentious, an attempt to aggrandize Gregory by ignoring pre-existent conditions.

<sup>11</sup> As Meyendorff comments, Palamas' aims in defending hesychasm seem to have been 'not to defend an imported novelty but to justify what he understood to be well-known and revered tradition, accepted within the mainstream of the Byzantine church and society. It was his theological formulations—not hesychasm as such—that provoked some opposition' (Meyendorff, 'Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century', p. 159).

specifically Palamas' doctrine of the energies.<sup>12</sup> Some followers of Theoleptos of Philadelphia himself became anti-Palamites.<sup>13</sup> Sabas, a leading Athonite of the period, was claimed by Philotheos for the Palamite cause, but quite probably without real justification.<sup>14</sup> Examination of the development of Russian hesychasm has suggested lines of development dependent on factors other than association with Palamite content.<sup>15</sup> Evidently it was by no means necessary for hesychasm to involve Palamite doctrine: hesychasts could equally be opponents of the doctrine, or—perhaps more likely—indifferent to it in its official manifestation.

Moreover, it would be misleading to portray figures such as Demetrius and Prochoros themselves as opposed to 'hesychasm' in any sense of opposition to the value of the Byzantine monastic tradition. Prochoros was a monk of Athos, while Demetrius was associated with the monastic establishment, both through his connections with the Mangana<sup>16</sup> and his patronage of the Lavra.<sup>17</sup> He was personally connected with figures considered to have been very much part of the hesychast tradition, such as the Kabasilai, Kantakuzenos and Isidore Boucheiras. There is nothing to suggest that Demetrius objected to the hesychast tradition *per se*. When, as discussed earlier, he makes disparaging remarks about certain groups, his comments do not justify suggesting that he disliked the tradition in general, but simply certain groups and attitudes.<sup>18</sup> It is perfectly possible to disapprove of what one perceives as negative trends within a tradition, while accepting its positive value.

There is thus a fundamental problem in directly associating hesychasm, a spiritual tradition of Orthodox monasticism, with specific doctrinal formulations of the mid-fourteenth century. Given the comments made above about the non-doctrinal focus of hesychasm, this is unsurprising. But there is also, as hinted above, another factor which makes uncritical equation of

<sup>12</sup> Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, p. 48. Hesychast tradition necessarily has it that Akindynos was not genuinely part of the tradition; that he was a bad hesychast, and that his opposition was rooted in his own spiritual shortcomings. This derives from writings of Palamas and Kallistos, and the polemical context of the texts involved should be taken into account when assessing their meaning. It is in any case clear that Akindynos was closely connected with both Palamas and Kallistos; *ibid.*, pp. 40 f.

<sup>13</sup> Meyendorff, 'Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century', p. 159.

<sup>14</sup> Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, p. 71.

<sup>15</sup> See Lilienfeld, F. v. 'Der athonitische Hesychasmus des 14. und 15. im Lichte der zeitgenössischen russischen Quellen', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 6 (1958), esp. pp. 447 f.

<sup>16</sup> See above, p. 51 f., 54.

<sup>17</sup> See above, p. 166.

<sup>18</sup> See above, pp. 127 f., pp. 163 ff.

hesychasm with Palamism in the fourteenth century inappropriate, in particular in the 1350s and 1360s: the as yet uncertain future of Palamism as official Orthodox doctrine.

The status of synodal decisions, such as those of 1341/1347/1351, is often something that becomes clear with the passage of time, rather than being immediately evident to all involved. Indeed, ratification *requires* the passage of time, rather than otherwise. This holds for the seven great Ecumenical councils, and also for the events of the 1340s and 1350s: the fact that three successive synods upheld Palamite doctrine does not necessarily indicate that the level of support for Palamism made its establishment inevitable and irreversible, but may well indicate that fluctuating circumstances meant that Palamite victory was precarious. Even after 1351 it was theoretically possible for the decisions to be reversed;<sup>19</sup> political circumstances were still very uncertain. It is only with hindsight that 1351 becomes the definitive Palamite victory. For the settlement to be permanently enshrined required its proponents to successfully eliminate opposition in the long term; and so it is as much in the years after 1351 that one should look for the process by which Palamism became established as in the years preceding.

The major difficulty in the standard explanations of the 'triumph of Palamism' and 'hesychasm' is that they fail to give sufficient consideration to this. In the comments cited above,<sup>20</sup> three ideas predominate: that the decisions of 1351 were very soon accepted as binding; that by the end of the fourteenth century they had been absorbed into the Orthodox faith; that there was very little opposition.<sup>21</sup> From the point of view of this study, concentrating as it does on the 1350s and 1360s, this clearly leaves questions unanswered. It leaves a gap between 1351 and 1400: the process of dissemination and absorption of Palamism, an essential factor in any attempt to assess the nature, strength and direction of Orthodoxy in this period of rapid change, is left unaccounted for. Without extensive study of the sources for this period—such as the writings of Kallistos and Philotheos—it is not possible to discuss the process in any depth. Such a study would no doubt shed much light on the establishment and definition of the content of Palamism and 'hesychasm'—the evolution of Orthodoxy as it responded to the new challenges of the period.

<sup>19</sup> As Demetrius points out to Philotheos in the *Apologia IV*, in vivid detail: see below, p. 234.

<sup>20</sup> p. 222, note 3.

<sup>21</sup> It might be argued that points two and three are somewhat self-contradictory. After all, if there was little opposition, why should it take so long for the doctrine to be absorbed—assuming (as proponents of Palamite doctrine largely do) that the doctrine is nothing other than the formulation of an idea that has long been present in Orthodox thought?

In the absence of such a study—and the absence of time or space within this study to do justice to the question—it can nevertheless be noted that in the 1350s and 1360s there was certainly some opposition, even in Orthodox circles, to the imposition of Palamite doctrine. Gregoras' opposition is well known; but he is often dismissed, at least in this respect, as something of a crank, and his opposition considered the final stage of genuinely Orthodox opposition to Palamas.<sup>22</sup> But Orthodox opposition clearly did not die out with Gregoras. The Palamite settlement, for example, continued to be a thorny issue in the patriarchate of Antioch: Arsenios of Tyre, who represented the patriarchate in 1351, opposed the settlement, and anti-Palamite feeling continued to feature in Antiochene affairs, even (briefly) securing Arsenios' election as patriarch c. 1370.<sup>23</sup> A letter of Kantakuzenos, written c. 1371, indicates a consciousness of the difficulties posed by anti-Palamites on Cyprus.<sup>24</sup> Proceedings against anti-Palamites continue to crop up in patriarchal records throughout the period.<sup>25</sup>

The Palamite settlement may have had more of an unsettling effect on the Orthodox than standard histories might suggest: cases such as those given above may not have been isolated, but may indicate considerable opposition. To introduce new doctrinal formulations concerning the nature of God is no small thing, and is liable to produce strong reactions. It is quite possible that there was considerable consciously Orthodox—as opposed to consciously pro-Latin—opposition to Palamism in the 1350s and 1360s. That this might be difficult to quantify would, given the circumstances, be unsurprising: the predominance of Palamite sources would tend to make it rather difficult to identify such opposition, since they would not acknowledge the Orthodoxy of such opponents. Moreover, the focus on the relationship with the western church in the 1350s and 1360s might somewhat distort the picture when it comes to Orthodox anti-Palamism—perhaps because dissatisfaction with the settlement increased the attractiveness of western ideas,<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> As in Meyendorff's comment: above, p. 222, note 4.

<sup>23</sup> Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, pp. 97 f.

<sup>24</sup> Darrouzès, J., 'Lettre inédite de Jean Cantacuzène relative à la controverse Palamite', *REB* 18 (1959), pp. 7–27.

<sup>25</sup> E.g. Darrouzès, J., *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople, I: Les Actes des Patriarches, fasc. V (1310 à 1376)* (Institut français d'études Byzantines, Paris, 1977), NN. 2419 (1360); 2546 (1369); 2562 (1369); 2619 (1371).

<sup>26</sup> Arguably, this could be a direct result of the use of the Palamite Tomes as a measure of orthodoxy. Given that one of the key Orthodox criticisms of the *flilioque* was that it was a unilateral uncanonical addition, a perception that the Palamite Tomes also constituted a unilateral uncanonical addition would have helped undermine Orthodox arguments. Demetrius certainly seems to have regarded the Tomes in this light. See below, p. 235.

perhaps because the Palamite establishment deliberately conflated the 'crimes' of its opponents. Such considerations may well mean that the significance of Orthodox unease has been underestimated.

This having been said, it would be inadvisable to insist too much upon this without much further investigation. For the purposes of this study, the important thing is not to determine the full extent of Orthodox uneasiness with Palamism, but to determine whether it can be taken to have been divisive enough to seriously reduce the ability of Orthodoxy to present a united front. With regard to this, the destabilising impact of the Palamite settlement should probably not be over-emphasised. The principal hierarchical structures of the Byzantine Orthodox church were dominated by Palamites, and this alone would have had a certain stabilising effect. Moreover, it is difficult to know how doctrinal dispute alone would affect the functioning of the church: it may be that many Orthodox, even if not wholeheartedly behind Palamism, nevertheless were not affected by it in such a way as to seriously compromise Orthodox unity. It is probably better, therefore, to be conservative regarding the level to which the Palamite settlement on its own can be taken as a major source of division within Byzantine Orthodoxy in the 1350s and 1360s.

#### 6.1.2. *Repercussions of the Civil War*

On their own, the repercussions of the Palamite controversy might not be enough to imply serious internal divisions in the Byzantine Orthodox church in the 1350s and 1360s. However, if the political difficulties of the period, with their ramifications for the Byzantine church, are added to the doctrinal issues, the likelihood of serious division, at least in the short term, increases significantly. Such divisions should not be regarded as necessarily sharing the same fault lines as those caused by the Palamite question, but the different fractures can be seen as combining to weaken the possibilities for unity.

Allusion was made earlier to political circumstances necessitating the three synods dealing with the Palamite question in the space of little over ten years.<sup>27</sup> The initial decisions of 1341, which condemned Barlaam and vindicated the hesychasts and Palamas' doctrinal formulations, were immediately jeopardised by the outbreak of civil war in 1341, in which the patriarch, John Kalekas, claimed the regency in opposition to Kantakuzenos. Kalekas' approach to Palamism was to reverse the decisions of 1341: he excommunicated Palamas, encouraged Akindynos, and made ecclesiastical appoint-

<sup>27</sup> Above, p. 226.

ments in accordance with this, and in support of his own political interests.<sup>28</sup> Thus the Palamite settlement was seriously undermined, and by the patriarch of Constantinople himself.

These actions had to be undone in 1347, when Kantakuzenos seized power. The Tome of 1347 was issued to reiterate the decisions of 1341 and to condemn Kalekas.<sup>29</sup> Support for the 1341 settlement was important in the process of legitimisation of Kantakuzenos, since it implied continuity with Andronikos III, and thus with the legitimate Palaiologan dynasty. As has been seen, Kantakuzenos made much of his connection to Andronikos.<sup>30</sup> Isidore Boucheiras was appointed patriarch, and made his own ecclesiastical appointments, consolidating the Palamite settlement in accordance with Kantakuzenos' policy.<sup>31</sup> But this did not silence opposition. A number of anti-Palamites denounced the appointment of Isidore in a Tome likewise of 1347,<sup>32</sup> and Gregoras and others raised vociferous theological opposition.<sup>33</sup> Evidently, circumstances recommended the calling of a further council in 1351.<sup>34</sup>

To a certain extent, 1351 can be seen as settling the political shape of the Palamite settlement. If 1347 was an interim affair, 1351 can be seen as a carefully considered consolidation of Palamite control of the Byzantine Orthodox hierarchy. However, the degree of disruption caused in the process, even at this stage, should not be underestimated. Even if it can be said, with the benefit of hindsight, that the settlement was not to suffer set-backs after 1351, and thus had been definitively achieved, this does not mean that this was evident at the time—that a line had clearly been drawn under the decade of uncertainty which had preceded it. Those disinherited by Palamism are unlikely to have easily abandoned hopes of a future reversal of the situation, particularly given the political instability, which was again increasing in the early 1350s. This instability is likely to have encouraged the perpetuation of dissident groups, since it would have reduced the incentive to conform by raising the hope of change in their favour. The political instability of the 1340s and 1350s thus may have seriously undermined the unity of the church and the stability of the Palamite settlement well into the 1350s, perhaps even beyond—as long as the potential for reversals remained alive.

<sup>28</sup> Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, pp. 70–75.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>30</sup> Above, p. 52.

<sup>31</sup> Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, p. 87.

<sup>32</sup> Darrouzès, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople, I*, \*N. 2281.

<sup>33</sup> Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, pp. 93 f.

<sup>34</sup> On the proceedings of 1351, *ibid.*, 94–100.

There is also another level at which the civil war can be understood as undermining not just the unity, but also the authority, of the Byzantine Orthodox church. The patriarch, John Kalekas, emerged as the principal scapegoat of the civil war, thoroughly compromised, condemned for his association with the declared heretics Barlaam and Akindynos.<sup>35</sup> Although Kantakuzenos' government, and the church itself, sought to distance itself as much as possible from Kalekas after 1347, his activities cannot but be regarded as a destabilizing factor, seriously undermining the credibility of the see itself. The recent existence of a patriarch doctrinally as well as politically compromised sets a worrying precedent, with serious repercussions, despite the efforts of the church to distance itself from him.

Events following the 1351 settlement do not seem to have been such as to assist the reconstruction of stability and hence unity. When, in 1353, Kantakuzenos decided to raise his son, Matthew, to imperial rank, the patriarch Kallistos refused to comply, and was deposed and replaced by the more obliging (in this respect) Philotheos Kokkinos.<sup>36</sup> When John V seized power in 1354, Philotheos was in turn deposed, and Kallistos reinstated.<sup>37</sup> Kallistos' second term as patriarch lasted till 1363, when he died on a mission to Serbia. Philotheos returned to office after a short delay, in 1364, remaining as patriarch until 1376, when Andronikos IV's seizure of power removed him. With respect to the Palamite settlement, these fluctuations do not reflect changed policy, although perhaps different styles;<sup>38</sup> both Kallistos and Philotheos were Palamites. But although their more lengthy second terms of office—particularly that of Philotheos—do suggest increased stability, this is unlikely to apply to the earlier years; that is, the mid-1350s.

The animosity between Kallistos and Philotheos emphasises this. After his removal in 1353, Kallistos continued to operate as patriarch in exile with John V on Tenedos, thus creating, as Darrouzès points out, the tricky constitutional problem of two patriarchs, each supported by a legitimate emperor.<sup>39</sup> Philotheos and Kallistos exchanged anathematisations.<sup>40</sup> When Philotheos was deposed in 1354, he was apparently charged with inciting

<sup>35</sup> Darrouzès, *Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople*, I, NN. 2270 (= Hunger, H., Kresten, O. (eds.), *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, Teil 2 (Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Vienna, 1995), no. 147), 2276.

<sup>36</sup> Nicol, *Last Centuries*, pp. 239 f.

<sup>37</sup> Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, pp. 107 f.

<sup>38</sup> As noted above (p. 224, with notes), Kallistos' version of hesychast pedigree tends to emphasise Gregory of Sinai, whereas Philotheos' version is more varied.

<sup>39</sup> Darrouzès, *Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople*, I, \*N. 2346.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, \*N. 2370.

rebellion against John V.<sup>41</sup> He (Philotheos) in turn refused to accept his deposition, and continued to regard himself as legitimate patriarch.<sup>42</sup> To the problems caused by Kalekas' fall are thus added problems created by this rivalry.<sup>43</sup>

So in 1354, when John V returned to the throne, the recent history of the Orthodox church in Byzantium left it with ground to make up regarding the stability of its hierarchy and the credibility of its reputation. Kalekas' patriarchate had been particularly problematic, with implications of heresy and doctrinal confusion; but in the early years at least of John V's reign, the patriarchate remained under the shadow of political interference and hierarchical disruption. Although the exact impact of such complications clearly depends on many factors, ranging from the personality and efficiency of the individuals involved to popular perceptions of the events, it is likely that there was indeed considerable confusion and instability in the mid-1350s, and probably for some time afterwards.

How the position of the patriarchate then developed is difficult to gauge. If it is assumed that the patriarchate's problems related mainly either to Kalekas' activities and destabilising political pressures, these problems would be likely also to decrease as both the orthodoxy and stability of the patriarchate became increasingly established. Thus the crisis of the mid-1350s would have lessened over time. On this reading, Kallistos' and Philotheos' second patriarchates imply considerable improvement, since their length could be taken as demonstrating both orthodoxy and stability. Both patriarchs, moreover, are frequently associated with constructive input into the development of Orthodoxy: both are associated with increasing claims to Constantinopolitan universality, enhancing the position of the patriarchate in the Orthodox world,<sup>44</sup> with determined efforts to promote Palamism and hesychasm,<sup>45</sup> and with various levels of church reform, including liturgical contributions.<sup>46</sup> Kallistos is also associated with opposition to

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, N. 2374. The text mentioned is taken from Demetrius' *Apologia IV*, discussed further below, pp. 232–239.

<sup>42</sup> Meyendorff, J., 'Alexis and Roman', p. 284, note 22.

<sup>43</sup> On this rivalry, see also Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 178 f.

<sup>44</sup> Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, p. 35.

<sup>45</sup> Philotheos was particularly active in this respect: it was he who had Palamas canonised (see Darrouzès, *Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople*, I, N. 2540), while his numerous writings, including hesychast hagiography, also bear witness to his activities in this sphere. See Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, pp. 723 ff.; also Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, p. 180.

<sup>46</sup> The patriarchal records show Kallistos making efforts to regulate the church in Constantinople (Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, p. 116; also

John V's negotiations with the west,<sup>47</sup> although Philotheos does not stand out in this respect, as will be seen.<sup>48</sup>

Such considerations tend to suggest that both Kallistos and Philotheos should be regarded as active patriarchs, very much involved in efforts to establish hesychasm and the claims of Constantinople in the Orthodox world, and to promote a strong and independent Orthodoxy within Byzantine society. Seen in this light, there would be a tendency to regard difficulties observable in the mid-1350s as substantially overcome by their activities, and therefore to regard the potential unifying power of the patriarchate as increasingly operational throughout the 1360s. However, is it really the case that the patriarchate was up and running efficiently again under Kallistos and Philotheos? Had its earlier difficulties been successfully overcome?

#### 6.1.3. *Philotheos and Demetrius in the Late 1360s*

One indication that the patriarchate had not yet overcome these difficulties completely in these decades can be found in Demetrius' own writings. As already indicated,<sup>49</sup> Demetrius' *Apologia IV* is a virulent attack on Philotheos, composed c. 1371, after Demetrius' return from Rome, and as a response to the trial and condemnation of Prochoros. What is particularly interesting, with regard to the discussion above, is the kind of arguments Demetrius uses in the *Apologia IV* to undermine Philotheos' position.

Part of Demetrius' argument concerns the nature of patriarchal authority, in (predictable) comparison with Rome.<sup>50</sup> He draws a parallel between Philotheos' own claims to authority and those of Rome: Philotheos is wrong to attack the Romans when they demand obedience to the pope, given his

Darrouzès, *Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople*, I, e.g. NN. 2319–2321 (= Koder et al, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, Teil 3, nos. 181–183) and N. 2402 (Koder et al, *Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, Teil 3, nos. 221, 224, 226, 228, 230 and 232) are all copies of this one document, sent to different recipients. The patriarchal records also record nine (extensive) lists of signatories to Kallistos' demands, given in full in Koder et al, *Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, Teil 3. Philotheos is known for liturgical contributions. For Kallistos' and Philotheos' contributions to liturgy and homiletics, see e.g. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 114 f., p. 124.

<sup>47</sup> Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, p. 774. Although see below, pp. 260 f.

<sup>48</sup> Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, p. 725; also below, pp. 261 f.

<sup>49</sup> Above, p. 46.

<sup>50</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 331 f., 29–43.

own claims.<sup>51</sup> He also discusses the fundamental nature of Rome's authority in comparison with that of Constantinople. Philotheos, according to Demetrius, maintains that Rome's authority was established on the basis of secular considerations<sup>52</sup>—an argument frequently used in the east to imply that Rome's primacy, because based on Rome's then status as imperial capital, does not give it the universal doctrinal preeminence it claims. Demetrius insists that the west can defend the antiquity and universality of its own claims,<sup>53</sup> and, more importantly in theological terms, that it can demonstrate them also through Scripture and rational argument.<sup>54</sup>

But Demetrius then proceeds to argue on the basis of recent events in Constantinople.<sup>55</sup> He starts with the established argument that the authority of Constantinople is undermined by the known heretics who have occupied the throne: Nestorius, monotheletes, iconoclasts, and others.<sup>56</sup> If the see of Constantinople was not guaranteed against error in these cases, it cannot guarantee Philotheos' position.<sup>57</sup> Demetrius does not, however, confine himself to ancient history: he brings much more recent events into the equation. If Philotheos continues to insist on the authority of the *kathedra*, then John (i.e. Kalekas) also cannot be rejected—his pronouncements must remain in force.<sup>58</sup> But if this is the case—if Kalekas' pronouncements have to be respected—the condemnation of Palamas stands.<sup>59</sup> Demetrius reminds Philotheos of the Tomes against Palamas under Kalekas, the curses

<sup>51</sup> *εἰ σὺ πάντ' ἀξιῶσεις ἐπιτάττειν ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καὶ τοῖς ἀντιλέγουσι τοσαύτην ὀριῇ τὴν ζῆμیان, πάντως ἀδικεῖς τύφου τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διώκων, ὅταν πάνθ' ὑπακούειν αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν Πέτρον καθέδραν ὁ κείνων ἱερεὺς ἐπιτάττει* Ibid., 29–32.

<sup>52</sup> *τούτῳ γὰρ ἰσχυρῶ χρεῖ σὺ δηλονότι κατ' ἐκείνου, ὅτι μὴ ταῖς γράφαις καὶ ταῖς ἀποδείξεσι, ἀλλ' ἀξιῶμασι καὶ θρόνοις καὶ διαδοχαῖς καὶ τουνοῦτοις δὴ τισιν ἀναγκάζει πάντα προσέχειν αὐτῷ.* Ibid., 332, 32–35.

<sup>53</sup> *καίτοιγ' ἐκείνοι ἔκ τε τῆς παλαιᾶς φήμης καὶ τῶν βιβλίων ταῦτα δυνάμενοι πείθειν, καὶ δεικνύναι τὸ συγκεχωρηκὸς αὐτοῖς παρὰ πάντων ὀφείλεισθαι, καὶ πάντας ἐν τοῖς ἀμφιβάλοις πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων κερηνέναι διδασκαλίαν, καὶ τῶν νῦν ὀραμένων καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας νικῶντων.* Ibid., 35–38.

<sup>54</sup> *ὅταν δέη ζητήσεως, ἐπὶ τὰς γραφὰς εὐθὺς καὶ τοὺς λόγους ὀρῶσι κἀκεῖθεν ἐπανάγουσι τοὺς ἠπατημένους, δεικνύντες τοῖς ἔργοις οὐ μάτην αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐπιτετράφθαι, ἀλλὰ τῆ σοφίᾳ καὶ τᾷ ἐξίωμα δικαίως προσκεῖσθαι.* Ibid., 40–43.

<sup>55</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, pp. 332 f., 43–64.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 46–51.

<sup>57</sup> *εἰ τοίνυν ἐκείνους οὐδὲν ἐκώλυσεν ὁ θρόνος ἀπολωλέναι, πῶς οὐ καὶ τὸ σὸν ἄξιον ὑποψίας;* Ibid., 53 ff.

<sup>58</sup> *μηδὲ τὸν χρηστὸν Ἰωάννην ἀποποιῶ...ἀλλ' ἔστω κύρια καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου.* Ibid., 57 f.

<sup>59</sup> *ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦτο, πρόδηλον ὡς οἰμώξετε, καὶ τὸν Παλαμᾶν ὥστε μὴ τὰ χεῖριστα παθεῖν οὐδεὶς ὁ παραιτούμενος ἔσται.* Ibid., 58 ff.

pronounced . . . and the participation in these proceedings of many of Philotheos' current supporters.<sup>60</sup> If what Philotheos says is law, why not also what Kalekas said?<sup>61</sup>

Demetrius then makes the accusation even more personal and dangerous.<sup>62</sup> Philotheos would do well to be careful. There is, Demetrius points out, a Tome which accuses Philotheos himself.<sup>63</sup> If this Tome has to be valid—as it does according to Philotheos' argument—it completely undermines Philotheos: how can Philotheos be arbiter of doctrine, when he has himself been condemned and stripped of his priesthood?<sup>64</sup> Some of the charges against Philotheos were even punishable by death.<sup>65</sup> Demetrius—citing, apparently, an official document—mentions charges against Philotheos of plotting against the emperor, for which reason the patriarch and synod judged he should be removed from the priesthood and punished accordingly.<sup>66</sup>

Demetrius concludes by advising Philotheos, on the basis of Philotheos' own history, to rethink the condemnation brought against Prochoros.<sup>67</sup> Philotheos should consider whether it is better for him to spare others and thus save himself, or to continue his attacks and thus bring punishment upon himself as well.<sup>68</sup> Because, according to Demetrius, Prochoros' condemnation has direct repercussions for Philotheos. For Philotheos to escape condemnation, Prochoros too must be vindicated.<sup>69</sup> Since the people involved in Prochoros' case are the same as those who were involved in Philotheos' case, if they were wrong in condemning Philotheos, their condemnation of Prochoros is also unsound.<sup>70</sup> But even if they were right in condemn-

<sup>60</sup> οἷσθα δὲ τὸν τόμον καὶ τὰς αὐτόθι κατ' ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν γεγραμμένας ἀράς, καὶ ὡς οἱ πλείους τῶν νῦν σοι συνεδρευόντων τὸν χορὸν ἐκείνον τότε ἐπλήρουν. Ibid., 60 ff.

<sup>61</sup> εἰ τοίνυν τὰ σὰ νόμος, διὰ τί μὴ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου; Ibid., 63 f.

<sup>62</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 333, 67–87.

<sup>63</sup> τις τῶν τόμων καὶ κατὰ τῶν σοι πεπραγμένων ἀγανακτῶν. Ibid., 70 f.

<sup>64</sup> πόθεν γὰρ ἔτι σεμνολογίῃ καὶ δικάσεις περὶ δογματῶν, καὶ τί δεῖ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι τοὺς ταῦτα διαφθειρόντας τάξεις, αὐτὸς ὅλως τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν τόμων ἐκβεβλημένος καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀφαιρεθεῖς...; Ibid., 73 ff.

<sup>65</sup> ταῦτ ἦσαν ἐφ' οἷς οἱ νόμοι θανάτου τοὺς ἀλῶντας τιμῶνται. Ibid., 78.

<sup>66</sup> ἔδοξε τῷ πατριάρχῃ καὶ τῇ συνόδῳ τὸν ταῦτα τολμήσαντα τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀφαιρέθηντα τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων παθεῖν. Ibid., 86 f. This refers to Philotheos' involvement in the coronation of Matthew Kantakuzenos in 1353, in defiance of John V's claims. See above, p. 230.

<sup>67</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 333, 87–p. 334, 10.

<sup>68</sup> ἢ τῶν ἄλλων φειδόμενος καὶ σαντῶν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπάλλαξον, ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους πλήττων οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀποφεύξῃ τὴν βλάβην. Ibid., 91 f.

<sup>69</sup> καίτοι σοῦ μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τόμων βλάβην ἀποδιδράσκοντος κἀκεῖνος ἔξω στήσεται τῆς αἰτίας. Ibid., 3 f.

<sup>70</sup> οἱ γὰρ αὐτοὶ καὶ τότε σοῦ καὶ νῦν τούτου κατηγοροῦσιν, καὶ ὥσπερ τότε ἠδίκουν, οὕτως οὐδὲ νῦν λόγοις ὑγαίνουσιν. Ibid., 5 f.

ing Philotheos, the condemnation of Prochoros cannot in any case stand, because if the earlier condemnation of Philotheos was sound and he was rightly removed from the priesthood, he was in no position to preside over the condemnation of Prochoros.<sup>71</sup> Either way, in Demetrius' account, the condemnation against Prochoros cannot stand, but Philotheos' own position is doubtful.

It is also interesting to note how Demetrius speaks of Philotheos' use of the Palamite Tomes. When he talks of former heretical patriarchs of Constantinople, Demetrius points out that their intelligence and education did not save them from error,<sup>72</sup> and adds sarcastically that perhaps they too were able to write Tomes, and to broadcast the contents of the Tomes.<sup>73</sup> The implication is clear: just because Philotheos writes Tomes enforcing doctrine, this need not make him right, just as earlier heretics were not right. Earlier in the text, Demetrius also asserts that the Tomes are not in any case accepted by intelligent men.<sup>74</sup> He also directly attacks Philotheos' use of the Tomes:<sup>75</sup> how can Philotheos insist that the Tomes constitute the criterion of orthodoxy?<sup>76</sup> Within the structure of the *Apologia IV*, this leads on to the discussion of the derivation and nature of the authority of Constantinople: Demetrius rejects the idea that Philotheos' own merits give the Tomes authority,<sup>77</sup> and so turns to asking whether the authority can derive from the throne itself,<sup>78</sup> which he answers negatively, as described above.<sup>79</sup>

Demetrius' intention in the *Apologia IV* was quite evidently to defend the orthodox reputation of his deceased brother. Prochoros was condemned

<sup>71</sup> εἰ δὲ σὺ δικαίως τότε κακῶς ἤκουες, ἀλλ' οὗτός γε οὐκ ἀλώσεται ἄνευ γὰρ τῆς ἱερωσύνης, ἧς σε σαφῶς ἀπεστέρησαν, οὐχ ἔξεις θένεν δικάσεις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων. Ibid., 6 ff.

<sup>72</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 332, 49 ff.

<sup>73</sup> ἴσως δὲ κἀκεῖνοι τόμους ἤδεσαν γράφειν, καὶ μετὰ πλειόνων ἢ σὺ τούτους ἐκύρουν. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 332, 51 f.

<sup>74</sup> ἐγὼ...τούς γε πλείστους καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντας ἐξώλειαν εὐχόμενος οἶδα τοῖς ἀναγκάσαι ὑπογραφεῖν. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 331, 6 f.

<sup>75</sup> Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 331, 9–21.

<sup>76</sup> ἔπειθ' ἠδέως ἂν σε ἐροίμην πρὸς τί ποτ' ἀφορῶν τοσαύτης ἰσχύος οἶε δεῖν τοῖς σοῖς τόμοις μεταδίδοναι, ὥστε τούτοις τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν εὐσέβειαν κρῖνεσθαι καὶ παρὰ τούτους ἐξετάζεσθαι τάληθῃ. Ibid., 9 ff.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 11–20.

<sup>78</sup> εἰ δὲ τῷ θρόνῳ δεῖ συγχωρεῖν κἀκεῖνος ὁμφάς σοι πεποιήκε ταυτὶ τὰ λογάρια. Ibid., 21.

<sup>79</sup> It should be noted, however, that this need not detract from the authority of the see of Constantinople within its own sphere of operation, as discussed in Chapter 2 (see above, p. 118): in speaking of the doctrinal content of the Tomes, Demetrius is very clearly dealing with the question of authority to determine doctrinal matters, and sees Philotheos' actions as an attempt to do so unilaterally; the issue is not one of authority on other levels.

and excommunicated by Philotheos in 1368, and for Prochoros to be reinstated would require Philotheos to be brought down and condemned. This is why the *Apologia IV* is such a fundamental attack on Philotheos. Whether Demetrius could reasonably have had any expectation that he might succeed in his purpose is a difficult question, and will be discussed further below. For present purposes what is particularly interesting is what the text implies regarding suggestions made earlier about the difficulties faced by the patriarchate in the mid-1350s.

First, the *Apologia IV* tends to confirm that Kalekas' reign did undermine the authority of the patriarchate, the status of his successors, and the Palamite settlement. By working Kalekas into his discussion, Demetrius highlights the dilemma: if Kalekas was in error, this gives very recent evidence for the doctrinal fallibility of Constantinople, and this undermines the general claims of the patriarchate to authority (in Demetrius' eyes). But in answer, Philotheos cannot hedge the issue of recent error in the patriarchate, since this would undermine the Palamite settlement: Kalekas, speaking as patriarch, condemned Palamas. Thus the *Apologia IV* suggests that Kalekas' reign did indeed produce difficulties for the patriarchate still relevant in the 1370s; that restoration of Palamism and condemnation of Kalekas could not excise the implications of his reign.

Second, the *Apologia IV* tends also to confirm that the rivalry between Philotheos and Kallistos continued to undermine the situation of the patriarchate. Demetrius' reference to Kallistos' condemnation of Philotheos suggests that Philotheos' status could still be undermined on these grounds. Kallistos might be dead, but the shadow of the struggle remained. Demetrius was not necessarily advocating Kallistos' authority as such, but more likely drawing on other people's conceptions of Kallistos' authority to bolster his case against Philotheos, and therefore Philotheos' judgments. Moreover, the question of treason is also raised: not only does Demetrius attempt to undermine Philotheos by drawing on ecclesiastical ambiguities, but he also reminds his audience that Philotheos was condemned for treasonable actions. This contrasts particularly with Demetrius' own approach to loyalty, described elsewhere. Therefore Demetrius' portrayal of Philotheos' position in the *Apologia IV* does strongly suggest a sustained memory of Philotheos' questionable background, both ecclesiastical and political.

Perhaps most importantly, however, with regards to determining how long the insecurity of the mid-1350s might have continued to undermine Orthodox unity, the *Apologia IV* implies that even in 1371 hopes for that reversals of the situation were still strong enough to support the continuation of different factions. The *Apologia IV* implies it was also still possible to hope

even that the Palamite settlement could be reversed, and this suggests that Orthodox anti-Palamism could have continued in some strength, because it implies that anti-Palamites could still hope for success within the hierarchy. Even if these hopes were unrealistic, the point is not whether they were realistic, but whether they were perceived as sufficiently plausible to encourage continued resistance to the established hierarchy. The *Apologia IV* suggests that they may have been.

It is also worth considering the extent to which Demetrius' own apparent sense that Philotheos could be defeated and his synodal decisions reversed was realistic. It is, of course, possible that Demetrius' accusations were, by 1371, unable to touch Philotheos: that the patriarchate, and Philotheos personally, was too strong to succumb to such attacks. In that case, Demetrius' accusations against Philotheos should be read as desperate rhetoric, dictated by Demetrius' need to justify Prochoros, but ineffective in real terms; a frustrated expression of Demetrius' own feelings rather than a serious threat to Philotheos.

However, although this is possible, and evidently Demetrius did not succeed in undermining Philotheos conclusively, it should be remembered that aspects of Demetrius' accusations against Philotheos were certainly valid in the mid-1350s. Philotheos did act treasonably towards John V, and does seem to have been condemned by patriarch and synod. The memory of this, with its implications, might, it is true, have faded, and Demetrius' reference to it in the *Apologia IV* may be a vain attempt to revive that memory; but it is also possible that the accusations were far from forgotten. The tensions between Philotheos and Kallistos are unlikely to have led to the judgement on Philotheos being withdrawn during Kallistos' reign, so Philotheos' status is likely to have been a matter of contention at least till the early 1360s, possibly even at the time of his reappointment as patriarch in 1364. That the issue then disappeared from memory between 1364 and 1371 is unlikely, particularly if Philotheos' actions were contentious. So Demetrius' accusations in the *Apologia IV* may well reflect recent concerns, and as such may well have presented a genuine threat to Philotheos.

This is supported by certain aspects of Demetrius' approach to Philotheos. Demetrius' general tone suggests a sense that he is attacking Philotheos from a position of strength: the directness of his expression, and the nature of his accusations, suggest that he was far from regarding Philotheos as an unassailable opponent. This could, of course, be a necessary function of his purpose in writing—if Prochoros were to be reinstated, Philotheos would have to be removed—but it could also reflect Philotheos' own position. In L129, Demetrius asserts that Philotheos' attack on Prochoros has made

Philotheos unpopular with many;<sup>80</sup> if this is anything more than rhetoric, this might suggest that Demetrius' later attack on Philotheos drew on at least some public sympathy.

A full assessment of the confrontation between Philotheos, Prochoros and Demetrius is beyond the scope of this present study. There are many questions regarding the situation which could benefit from serious, preferably impartial (insofar as this is possible) consideration. The *Apologia IV* may well hold crucial clues. For example, what is to be made of Demetrius' assertion that what most enraged Philotheos was Prochoros' refusal to side with Philotheos when Philotheos was condemned?<sup>81</sup> Demetrius comments that Prochoros' actions went against Philotheos' idea of the loyalty required of a fellow Lavriote.<sup>82</sup> Philotheos was a former *hegoumenos* of the Laura, and Prochoros a monk of the Laura. It is often suggested that Philotheos, in condemning Prochoros, was more interested in undermining Demetrius' influence; but perhaps consideration should be given to the idea that Prochoros' own influence may have been rather more heavyweight than might be thought, and that his evidently lengthy acquaintance with Philotheos may have involved confrontation on similar territory, spiritually and politically.

Another consideration is what part Demetrius played in Philotheos' reinstatement as patriarch, and what this might imply about the strength of their relative positions, at least initially. The *Apologia IV* implies that Demetrius made some kind of agreement with, and interceded on his behalf with John V;<sup>83</sup> and in L129,<sup>84</sup> Demetrius states that Philotheos, at the time of his appointment, promised, among other things, that he would not perse-

<sup>80</sup> ἐγὼ δὲ σοὶ φημι, καὶ πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἔχων νοῦν μετ' ἐμοῦ, ὡς οὐδὲν τῶν προλαβόντων οὕτω σοὶ τὴν φίλην παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς διέφθειρε δόξαν ὡς ἐφ' ἃ νῦν προήχθης. Loenertz, *Demetrius Kydones, Correspondance, I*, 165: 129, 15 ff.

<sup>81</sup> οὐχ αἴρεσις ἦν, ὃ χρηστὲ, οὐδὲ δόγματα οὐδέ τι τοιοῦτον αἴτιον τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Πρόχορον ἀηδίας, ἀλλ' ἦν πολὺ τούτων ἀφεστηκὸς τὸ σὲ κεννηκὸς ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον· εἴπω βούλει καὶ οὐκ ὀργῆ, τὸ μὴ παρὰ σέ φοιτᾶν ὅτε εἰργχθῆς, τὸ μὴ τῶν εἰρξάντων κατηγορεῖν, τὸ μὴ μοιχὸν καλεῖν τὸν κομισάμενον τὰ οἰκεία, τὸ μὴ τοὺς τόμους κωμῶδειν, τὸ μὴ τὴν σύνοδον παρὰ νόμων ψηφισμάτων διώκειν, τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπέχεσθαι τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀγνοοῦντος. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 318, 74–80.

<sup>82</sup> ἡ ἀκεῖνον Λαυριώτην ὄντα ἐνόμιζες ἐνθὺς σοὶ προσελθόντα κολακεύσειν ταῖς τοῦ πατριάρχου κατηγορίας. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 318, 81 f.

<sup>83</sup> Demetrius describes complaining that Philotheos' attacks on Prochoros are inexcusable because of Demetrius' previous dealings with Philotheos: καίτοι τούτων ἡσθημένον με καὶ προσελθόντα σοὶ, καὶ μετὰ λύπης δυσχεραίνοντα καὶ μεμφόμενον εἰ τοιαῦτα τῆς νέας φιλίας παρὰ σοῦ τὰ προιοῖμα καὶ τοιαῦθ' ὧν ὑπὲρ σοῦ δεδεήμεθα τοῦ βασιλέως. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 322, 12–15.

<sup>84</sup> See above, p. 162.

cute those who could not accept Palamas.<sup>85</sup> There was some delay between Kallistos' death and Philotheos' appointment, and this has been interpreted by some as indicating that John V was reluctant to confirm the appointment, and only agreed after Philotheos had agreed to certain conditions.<sup>86</sup> If this is true, it is possible that Demetrius and John may, in 1364, have thought that Philotheos was open to manipulation—that the conditions of his appointment left him severely restricted in terms of independent dealings. Philotheos, it seems, was not a man to be limited in this way in the longer-term; but that does not rule out the possibility that he was at a serious disadvantage in the early years of his reign.

The details of how Philotheos' career and influence developed, however, cannot be dealt with here. For present purposes, it is enough to point out that Demetrius' *Apologia IV* suggests that there may be reason to suspect that Philotheos' position may have been far from secure in the early years of his reign, and that the patriarchate did not necessarily reestablish itself quickly as a unifying force after the difficulties of the mid-1350s. The fractures visible in the 1350s do not seem to have been overcome in the short term, and may have continued throughout much of the 1360s. Thus the actions of Kallistos and Philotheos may best be viewed not as the actions of secure patriarchs, confident in their authority and power, but as the actions of patriarchs only too aware of the precariousness of their situation, seeking to re-establish their authority after an extended period of instability, in the face of serious difficulties. It may be that the developments of the late 1360s (the canonization of Palamas, condemnation of Prochoros etc) indicate that Philotheos was beginning to reclaim his position and shake off earlier restrictions, and that Demetrius' resistance was futile by the time he wrote the *Apologia IV*; but it cannot be assumed that Philotheos went into this battle holding all the cards from the start.

## 6.2. INDICATIONS OF STRENGTH?

But even if the patriarchate's position was in some ways—particularly in terms of internal Byzantine politics—precarious in the 1350s and 1360s, this does not necessarily mean that the patriarchate was without other strengths, perhaps able even to counterbalance other difficulties. There is

<sup>85</sup> τότε γὰρ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἦν τῶν ὁμοιοσμένων, μηδένα λυπεῖν εἴ τις Παλαμᾶ καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖνον τόμοις θυεῖν μὴ βούλοιο. Loenertz, *Demetrius Kydones, Correspondance, I*, 165: 129, 20 f.

<sup>86</sup> E.g. Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe, Vol I,2*, pp. 399 f.



a school of thought, for example, that would approach the question of the strength of Orthodoxy in the period in a rather different way: that would see the Constantinopolitan patriarchate as a driving force in the fourteenth century, the one Byzantine institution still able to transcend boundaries, and increasing in autonomy and independence. This approach would look particularly to the patriarch Athanasius I (1289–1293 and 1303–1309) as an influence, seeing him as establishing a tradition of patriarchal independence from secular interference, and of patriarchal strength of purpose, which set a precedent to be followed up and developed by future patriarchs.<sup>87</sup>

Two particular channels of influence have, in this version of events, been identified assisting the growth of a strong and influential patriarchate. The first of these has to do with cultural connections between Byzantium and the rest of the Orthodox world. The idea would be that, since the Orthodox world derived its Christian culture from Constantinople, this naturally led to the patriarchate enjoying particular prestige, at an institutional level, across the Orthodox world, and therefore being able to derive strength from international support not open to the enfeebled political elite. The second channel has to do with the development of hesychasm as a pan-Orthodox movement—the so-called ‘hesychast international’.<sup>88</sup> The idea would be that the ‘hesychast takeover’ of the patriarchate from Isidore Boucheiras onwards enabled the patriarchate to draw strength and influence from hesychast networks across the Orthodox world, again transcending boundaries, but this time at a more grass-roots level.<sup>89</sup>

Certainly both of these elements are extremely important in the long-term development of the late Byzantine and Orthodox world, and as such merit considerable attention. However, for the purposes of this study, it is not enough simply to assume that they must be of relevance to Byzantine developments in the 1350s and 1360s. The specific timeframe of this study requires focus on short-term indications, in which not all elements present in the longer-term can be assumed. The intention here is therefore to consider whether the two trends presented above—the authority of the patriarchate in the eyes of other Orthodox powers, and the influence of the ‘hesychast international’—can in fact be realistically seen as factors providing the patriarchate with strength and influence in the 1350s and 1360s, and thus whether they are likely to have increased the patriarchate’s ability to provide leadership for a unified Orthodox front.

<sup>87</sup> E.g. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 112 ff.

<sup>88</sup> Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, p. 302, citing A. Elian.

<sup>89</sup> E.g. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 102 f.

### 6.2.1. ‘Orthodox Universalism’ and Relations with Other Orthodox Sees

One of the characteristics of Constantinopolitan Orthodoxy in the fourteenth century is the development of what can be termed ‘Orthodox universalism’; the claims of the see of Constantinople to be the ‘universal center (sic) of Orthodox Christendom’<sup>90</sup>—claims which Meyendorff has termed ‘religious maximalism’.<sup>91</sup> There are two main points to this: patriarchal attempts to assert independence of secular influence, and patriarchal claims to authority over other Orthodox sees.

With regard to the first of these, the school of thought which emphasises Athanasius I’s role in promoting the independence and strength of the patriarchate would tend to think of this independence then being jealously guarded and built upon by Athanasius’ successors. However, the discussion above of conditions in the 1350s and 1360s does not support this idea. Rather, it suggests that, whatever strengths Athanasius could draw upon in his struggles with Andronikos II, they do not seem to have been available to mid-fourteenth century patriarchs, whose fortunes were very much tied up with secular political fortunes. This is not to say that the patriarchate had no opportunity for independent and effective action; but the patriarchate does not seem to have been secure against imperial intervention. High levels of imperial intervention in ecclesiastical appointments are confirmed by a document of 1382.<sup>92</sup> Although this does not necessarily reflect the 1350s and 1360s, it does suggest that it may be a mistake to over-estimate the independence of the patriarchate.

The more important issue at stake here, however, is the second of the questions highlighted above: the issue of patriarchal influence in the wider Orthodox world. Were the claims of authority emanating from the patriarchate in the fourteenth century accepted across the Orthodox world in such a way as to invest patriarchal decisions with peculiar authority and unifying potential?

Constantinopolitan claims to authority over the *oikoumene* have their basis in early conciliar canons, with the added assumption that, with Rome excluded, Constantinople has some kind of pre-eminence over the entire church. Attempts to claim this—at least on a rhetorical level—had considerable history, stretching back to much earlier eras,<sup>93</sup> but they emerge

<sup>90</sup> Meyendorff, ‘Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century’, p. 160.

<sup>91</sup> Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 109 f.

<sup>92</sup> Laurent, V., ‘Les droits de l’empereur en matière ecclésiastique. L’accord de 1380–1382’, *REB* 13 (1955), pp. 5–20.

<sup>93</sup> Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 108–112.

particularly strongly in this late period of Byzantine history.<sup>94</sup> As Meyendorff points out, loss of patriarchal records makes it difficult to know what Athanasius I's dealings were with much of the Orthodox world;<sup>95</sup> it is therefore uncertain whether he set a precedent in this field. It is instead Kallistos and Philotheos Kokkinos who are particularly associated with the development of claims of universal authority.

One much-quoted example of the development of patriarchal claims to authority is Kallistos' letter of c. 1362 to two Bulgarian hesychasts,<sup>96</sup> in which he describes the ecumenical patriarch's role as being one in which, on canonical authority, he 'judges in appeal, straightens out, confirms and authenticates' the judgements of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem—and therefore also Bulgaria.<sup>97</sup> Similar expression can be found in another letter of Kallistos, again c. 1362, this time to the patriarch of Antioch, in which Kallistos states that the patriarch has long had the canonical authority to intervene and investigate ecclesiastical questions throughout the *oikoumene*.<sup>98</sup> This sense of the universal role of the patriarchate is also expressed by Philotheos Kokkinos. In his first term as patriarch, Philotheos opens the synodal tome appointing Alexis Metropolitan of Kiev with a declaration of the authority of Constantinople over all the churches of the *oikoumene*.<sup>99</sup> In his second term of office, in a letter to the princes of Russia in 1370, Philotheos repeats these sentiments, declaring that God has appointed the patriarch as 'leader of all Christians found anywhere on the inhabited earth' (i.e. in the *oikoumene*).<sup>100</sup>

If Constantinople did in fact have this kind of relationship with the rest of the Orthodox world, this would certainly give the pronouncements of the patriarchate a peculiar authority. It would have far-reaching implications for the strength of the patriarchate, and its ability to represent a united Orthodox front on key questions. However, did patriarchal assertions of 'Orthodox universalism' have practical force across the Orthodox world? A partial answer to this can be given by looking at Constantinople's official relation-

<sup>94</sup> See Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, p. 35, for a list, with references, of patriarchs enunciating such claims.

<sup>95</sup> Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, p. 113.

<sup>96</sup> See also below, p. 246 especially with regard to the dating of the letter.

<sup>97</sup> Koder et al, *Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel, Teil 3*, pp. 568 f., 84–89. Cited in Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, p. 115; also idem., 'Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century', p. 161.

<sup>98</sup> Koder et al, *Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel, Teil 3*, p. 380, 36–40.

<sup>99</sup> Koder et al, *Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel, Teil 3*, p. 108, 4–9. Cited in Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, p. 115.

<sup>100</sup> MM I, 521, 6–9. For the full text of the letter, in English translation, see Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 283 f.

ship with other parts of the Orthodox world in the 1350s and 1360s. Consideration will be given to Constantinople's relationship with the churches of Serbia, Bulgaria and Russia.

#### *Serbia/Peç*

It was mentioned earlier that during the reign of Stephen Dušan, Serbia was a predatory neighbour to Byzantium, expanding by annexing Byzantine territories.<sup>101</sup> How did this political affect the religious sphere?

In 1345, Stephen Dušan raised the archbishop of Peç to the rank of patriarch, prior to his own coronation at Easter, 1346.<sup>102</sup> The Bulgarian patriarch of Trnovo, the autocephalous archbishop of Ochrid and the *protos* of Athos attended Stephen's coronation.<sup>103</sup> Stephen's creation of an independent Serbian patriarchate, without recourse to Constantinople, effectively marks the beginning of a schism with Constantinople. Formal excommunication followed shortly after.<sup>104</sup> Dušan also pursued a policy of appointing Serbs to the top ecclesiastical positions, and of promoting Serbian control of Athos.<sup>105</sup> Serbian expansion under Dušan was thus paralleled by an independent Serbian line in ecclesiastical affairs, and a schism between the Serbian church and Constantinople.

It could be argued that a political rift of this nature only applies to certain levels of communication, and that it does not necessarily undermine pan-Orthodox understanding. This is certainly true to some extent: a schism of this kind need not rule out links at other levels, and Serbia had drawn much upon Byzantine cultural heritage.<sup>106</sup> Moreover, it is clear that Dušan valued the contribution Orthodoxy could make to his policies, and was concerned to act as a patron of the church and to exploit Orthodox alliances. But this does not mean that Serbia under Dušan was likely to strengthen the patriarchate of Constantinople. On the contrary: Dušan seems to have been more concerned to harness the strength of Orthodoxy for himself, moving the centre of influence into his own territories. This can scarcely be seen as advantageous to the see of Constantinople; rather, it constituted a direct

<sup>101</sup> See above, p. 65.

<sup>102</sup> Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, pp. 31 f.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>104</sup> Various dates have been suggested: e.g. December 1349 (Papadakis, *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy*, p. 259), 1350 (Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, p. 310), 1352 (Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, p. 164 and 'Alexis and Roman', p. 282) and 1352–1354 (Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, p. 185, note 60).

<sup>105</sup> Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, p. 312, pp. 323 f.

<sup>106</sup> A theme developed at length in Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, chp. 3.

challenge to Constantinople's authority. In this sense, the schism between Constantinople and Peç cannot be regarded as insignificant, but as reflecting an important division undermining any potential for the Serbian church to provide support for Constantinopolitan policies.

Moreover, not only did Dušan reject Constantinople's claims to authority over the Serbian church, but he also apparently contemplated a settlement with the papacy.<sup>107</sup> This would have had political advantages: papal support could potentially have helped Dušan deflect aggression from Hungary, as well as legitimising his imperial status. How serious he was in his discussions with the papacy is debatable: in any case, Dušan died soon after. However, the threat of a Catholic-backed Serbia was probably taken seriously enough by the Byzantines for this to be a factor in John V's approach to the papacy in 1355. Dušan's flirtation with Catholicism suggests still further that Serbia is not the best place to look to for an Orthodoxy loyal to Constantinople and opposed to the west.

The history of the various Serbian territories after Dušan's death is rather obscure, and therefore it is difficult to know quite how Serbo-Byzantine church relations developed. However, positive ecclesiastical relations do not seem to have been restored quickly. When the patriarch Kallistos died on a mission to Serres in 1363,<sup>108</sup> it seems that the journey was undertaken against a background of strained relations and schism, rather than harmony; and that the situation was not much improved, if at all, by his efforts. This episode is sometimes taken as evidence of the independent action of the patriarchate, developing pan-Orthodox co-operation in opposition to the emperor's policies. However, the background of political confrontation and schism puts a different complexion on the episode: it suggests that Kallistos was trying to regain lost ground, and that negotiations started out from a very low point.

By 1368, good relations had apparently been restored with those Serbian territories subject to Uglješa.<sup>109</sup> Then, in 1375, a settlement was reached between Constantinople and Prince Lazar, at the instigation of Athonite monks. The settlement recognised the autocephalous status of the Serbian church, and agreed that clergy appointed by Constantinople would not be expelled in the event of Serbian conquest.<sup>110</sup> Thus relations seem to have

<sup>107</sup> See above, p. 216.

<sup>108</sup> Schopen, *Ioannis Cantacuzeni Eximperatoris Historiarum Liber IV*, pp. 360 f.

<sup>109</sup> Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, pp. 93 f. Also Darrouzès, *Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, I, N. 2535.

<sup>110</sup> Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, p. 305; Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, pp. 387 ff.

improved, with both sides willing to make concessions. One might suspect that Serbia's weakened state made this easier. In the 1360s, despite Dušan's death, recent Serbian history may have encouraged a continuation of expansionist and imperialist hopes, making a settlement with Constantinople unpalatable. But as time wore on, this became less realistic, and a settlement more desirable; although even in 1375 Fine suggests that negotiations were still a bitter pill for the Serbian old guard to swallow.<sup>111</sup>

So for most of the 1350s and 1360s, Constantinople and Peç were officially in schism. Rather than providing support for Constantinople, the dominant forces seem to have been drawing the Serbian church away from Constantinople, towards autonomy and a desire to impose its own influence on the Orthodox world, rather than to promote Constantinople's. This can be connected with Serbian expansionism under Dušan, but also continued after his death. Thus the claims to universal authority voiced by Constantinople do not seem to have been heeded or respected, at least at an official level, by the Serbian church; and this makes it unlikely that Serbia provided any degree of support for the patriarchate.

#### *Bulgaria/Trnovo*

If Serbia was substantially in schism with Constantinople throughout the 1350s and 1360s, and even into the 1370s, and tended to emphasise Serbian authority at the expense of the relationship with Constantinople, what about Bulgaria?

There are indications that the Bulgarians, like the Serbians, felt the urge to establish their own autonomy and authority, in defiance of Byzantine claims, although with rather less military capacity to back this up than the Serbs under Dušan.<sup>112</sup> Tsar John Alexander (1331–1371), for example, challenged Byzantine imperial authority by calling himself 'emperor and autocrat of all Bulgarians and Greeks'; while, as Obolensky points out, the Slavonic version of the Chronicle of Manasses portrays Trnovo as the New Rome,<sup>113</sup> thus implying that Constantinopolitan ecclesiastical authority had been replaced. Did this attitude find practical expression in relations between Constantinople and Trnovo?

The patriarchate of Trnovo does seem to have inclined to schism. As mentioned above, the patriarch of Trnovo was present at Dušan's coronation

<sup>111</sup> Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, pp. 388 f.

<sup>112</sup> Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, pp. 366 ff.

<sup>113</sup> Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, pp. 245 f.; Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, p. 29.

in 1346.<sup>114</sup> In 1352, the patriarch of Trnovo consecrated Olgerd of Lithuania's candidate, Theodoret, as Metropolitan of Kiev.<sup>115</sup> These actions mark a direct challenge to Constantinopolitan authority.

A few years later, in 1355, documents relating to a marriage alliance suggest that relations between John Alexander and John V had improved.<sup>116</sup> Among the signatories were Kallistos and Palamas. However, that difficulties between Trnovo and Constantinople were not so easily set aside is indicated by one of Kallistos' letters, already mentioned.<sup>117</sup> In the letter, Kallistos is responding to two monks of Trnovo who have addressed the synod of Constantinople. They have reported that the patriarch of Trnovo has been failing to commemorate Kallistos in the liturgy. Kallistos, as was seen above, insists that Trnovo depends on Constantinople and should commemorate her. He also cites a number of specific practices in which Trnovo should conform to Constantinopolitan usages. Because of its position in the manuscript, it was earlier thought that this letter dated to 1355,<sup>118</sup> but more recent investigations have placed it later, in the early 1360s.<sup>119</sup> It would thus seem that Trnovo did not acknowledge the Constantinopolitan patriarchate in the early 1360s, since this provoked the complaints brought before the synod, while Kallistos' letter by no means demonstrates that official relations were then resumed. Full restoration of Constantinople's authority in Bulgaria apparently did not come about until 1379.<sup>120</sup>

So it seems that Constantinople's relationship with Bulgaria was rather similar to its relationship with Serbia; that Bulgarian political confrontation with Constantinople was mirrored in the ecclesiastical sphere. Thus, at least at an official level, the Bulgarian church is also unlikely to have provided Constantinople with support likely to help her act as a unifying force in Orthodoxy, promoting a unified programme.

<sup>114</sup> p. 243.

<sup>115</sup> See below, p. 248.

<sup>116</sup> Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, p. 169. Darrouzès, *Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople*, I, N. 2381 (= Koder et al, *Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, Teil 3, no. 261).

<sup>117</sup> p. 242. Darrouzès, *Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople*, I, N. 2442 (= Koder et al, *Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, Teil 3, no. 264).

<sup>118</sup> Based on the dating given in MM I, 436–442, no. 186.

<sup>119</sup> Darrouzès dates it 1361/1362, Koder et al, *Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, Teil 3, to 1360–1362. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, p. 115 continues to assume the date of 1355.

<sup>120</sup> Meyendorff, 'Alexis and Roman', p. 286.

#### *Russia/Kiev*

Constantinople's relationship with Russia in the 1350s and 1360s was of a rather different nature to its relationship with Serbia and Bulgaria. Russia's concerns in this period centred largely around the struggle between Moscow and Lithuania.<sup>121</sup> Moscow traditionally was favoured by Constantinople, and retained the metropolitanate of Kiev, the leading see of the Russian principalities, although the seat of the metropolitan was no longer Kiev, which was controlled by Olgerd of Lithuania. In the struggle between Moscow and Lithuania, both sides turned to Constantinople in their efforts to secure control of the metropolitanate. This does at least demonstrate that the patriarchate was regarded as having an important role in decisions regarding the ecclesiastical hierarchy, in contrast to the attitude demonstrated by Bulgaria and Serbia. The decisions taken by Constantinople, however, were far from consistent, and as such they shed further light on the effects of internal Byzantine difficulties, while also raising questions as to how those internal difficulties might also have affected external attitudes to patriarchal authority.

One set of decisions of the patriarchate relates to the existence of an independent metropolitanate of Galicia. Theognostos of Kiev (metropolitan, 1328–1353) consecrated a certain Theodore bishop of Halich in Galicia, thus emphasising the dependence of Galicia on Kiev. During the Byzantine civil war, however, Kalekas made Galicia a metropolitanate independent of Kiev, appointing Theodore metropolitan, without reference to Theognostos.<sup>122</sup> When Kantakuzenos seized power in 1347, he abolished this independent metropolitanate,<sup>123</sup> and himself explicitly connects the changes in Byzantine policy with internal political changes.<sup>124</sup> Thus Byzantine political affairs can be seen to have a direct effect on the patriarchate's decisions regarding ecclesiastical administration.

The see of Kiev itself, moreover, was also affected by the vicissitudes of Byzantine policies.<sup>125</sup> In 1352, Olgerd of Lithuania, keen to advance his

<sup>121</sup> See e.g. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, pp. 261 f.

<sup>122</sup> Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, p. 155. Darrouzès, *Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople*, I, N. 2224.

<sup>123</sup> Sept. 1347. Darrouzès, *Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople*, I, N. 2291 (= Hunger & Kresten, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, Teil 2, no. 170). English translation: Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 280 ff.

<sup>124</sup> Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 157 f.

<sup>125</sup> On these events, see esp. Meyendorff, 'Alexis and Roman'; idem, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 161–172; Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, pp. 260–264.

own claims, attempted to have his own candidate, Theodoret, consecrated as metropolitan by Constantinople. This failed, but Theodoret was instead consecrated by the patriarch of Trnovo,<sup>126</sup> and installed by Olgerd in Kiev itself. Constantinople deposed and excommunicated Theodoret.<sup>127</sup> Greater confusion then ensued over the appointment of a successor to the legitimate Theognostos of Kiev (d. 1353). Theognostos himself designated Alexis, his vicar, as successor, and Alexis travelled to Constantinople, where Philotheos Kokkinos confirmed him as Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia (with his seat in Vladimir).<sup>128</sup> After the regime change in Constantinople, however, Kallistos appointed Roman, Olgerd's new candidate, as Metropolitan of the Lithuanians.<sup>129</sup> Both Alexis and Roman returned to Constantinople in 1355/1356, to argue their respective causes, resulting in a settlement determining their respective jurisdictions;<sup>130</sup> but Roman then began designating himself Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia.<sup>131</sup> Thus two different patriarchs of Constantinople gave authority, within a very short period of time, to two rival metropolitans, vying over much the same territorial jurisdictions. This situation continued until the death of Roman, in 1362, when the see was officially united again under Alexis.<sup>132</sup>

However, problems did not cease even after 1362. Pressures emanating from Lithuania and Poland<sup>133</sup> gave rise to further difficulties in the 1370s, and in 1375 complications again arose when Philotheos appointed the Bulgarian Cyprian as Metropolitan of Kiev, Russia and Lithuania, while Alexis was still alive and officially Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia. Obolensky describes Philotheos' decision as showing 'the same lack of canonical decorum which his predecessor Callistus (sic) had displayed in 1354'.<sup>134</sup> Meyendorff defends Philotheos' decision as a genuine response to pastoral requirements rather than a deliberate attempt to divide the metropolitanate;<sup>135</sup> but

<sup>126</sup> See above, p. 246.

<sup>127</sup> c. July 1352. Darrouzès, *Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople*, I, N. 2336.

<sup>128</sup> June 1354. Darrouzès, *Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople*, I, N. 2363 (= Koder et al, *Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, Teil 3, no. 193).

<sup>129</sup> On the appointment of Roman by Kallistos, see Meyendorff, 'Alexis and Roman', p. 284, note 22.

<sup>130</sup> Meyendorff, 'Alexis and Roman', p. 285.

<sup>131</sup> Summer, 1956. Darrouzès, *Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople*, I, NN.

2394 & 2395. On Roman's pretensions to full authority over Russia, see N. 2395, Critique.

<sup>132</sup> Summer, 1362. Darrouzès, *Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople*, I, N. 2445.

<sup>133</sup> See Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 191 ff.

<sup>134</sup> Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, p. 263.

<sup>135</sup> Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 200 f.

the fact remains that Cyprian's appointment was contentious. Cyprian's fortunes in the late 1370s again reflect the vagaries of the Constantinopolitan patriarch. When Philotheos was deposed in 1376, Cyprian was left without the influential support he had previously enjoyed, and when John V returned to power in 1379, his (Cyprian's) appointment in 1375 was declared uncanonical by the new patriarch, Neilos.<sup>136</sup>

Clearly, the Constantinopolitan patriarchate was an important factor in ecclesiastical developments in Russia. However, it is not clear that the influence of the patriarchate operated at a constant level, nor that it increased over time, nor that it translated into general acceptance of Constantinopolitan policies and concerns. The period is probably better seen as one in which attitudes to Constantinople fluctuated considerably in Russian territories, at times with considerable loss of prestige. Both Obolensky and Meyendorff refer to the events surrounding Alexis and Roman in 1356 as an 'auction',<sup>137</sup> and Meyendorff adds that it 'shattered the prestige of Byzantium in Russia'.<sup>138</sup> Olgerd apparently was unimpressed by the patriarchate's cupidity, and eventually Lithuania was to succumb instead to Catholic influence.<sup>139</sup> Obolensky also suggests that Muscovite attitudes were negatively affected: that, having 'found themselves the victims of these machinations of Byzantine diplomacy [they] could hardly have been expected to entertain feelings of goodwill towards the authorities of Constantinople'.<sup>140</sup> So although the relationship between Constantinople and Russia is important, the implications of the relationship require nuanced treatment.

Moreover, even if the theory of the authority of Constantinople was widely accepted in Russia, and manipulated where possible to serve Russian interests, it is far from clear how this would have related to the core question under consideration in this section: whether acknowledgement of Constantinople's authority gave the patriarchate sufficient additional strength and influence to make it a strong, independent, unifying factor, able to enforce its own agenda, in opposition to imperial policies, both within and beyond the Byzantine church. The dealings observable between Russia and Constantinople are primarily political in scope, and, on the Constantinopolitan side, closely connected with imperial policy, rather than independent

<sup>136</sup> On these developments, see Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, Chp. 9.

<sup>137</sup> Meyendorff, 'Alexis and Roman', p. 285; Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, p.

263.

<sup>138</sup> Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, p. 184.

<sup>139</sup> Obolensky, op. cit., loc. cit.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 264.

of it. No doubt the role the patriarchate could play in dealings with Russia and Lithuania lent it considerable value in imperial eyes; but it is difficult to draw from this the conclusion that this indicates patriarchal independence.

What emerges from the above discussion is that Constantinople's claims to universalism were not automatically accepted across the Orthodox world in the 1350s and 1360s. Kallistos and Philotheos, in asserting their claims, were doing so frequently against a backdrop of schism, not of concord. Moreover, their claims appear in documents whose very nature bears witness to this. Kallistos' letter to the Bulgarian monks, for example, is based on the premise that Trnovo does *not* acknowledge Constantinople. Even Constantinople's claims in Russia are not clear-cut: although there evidently was a sense that Constantinopolitan sanction was important, this need not imply a more general tendency to fall in line with Constantinopolitan concerns, and the confusion over the see of Kiev is likely to have seriously undermined Constantinople's reputation.

It seems, then, that Constantinople's relationship with other Orthodox powers was difficult in the 1350s and 1360s. This is scarcely surprising. Although the Kantakuzenist regime might portray the settlement of 1347 as representing return to stability in Orthodox Byzantium, in practical terms the civil war had longer-lasting impact, and stability was only tentatively—if at all—returning in the late 1350s. The patriarchate's capabilities were seriously affected by this. Kallistos I, in 1354/5, was faced with a mammoth task of rebuilding the credibility and influence of the patriarchate. Moreover, he faced this task at a point when both Serbia and Bulgaria were tending towards national self-assertion, including ecclesiastical independence. The early years at least of Kallistos' reign can be read as a struggle to reassert the authority of Constantinople. It is quite possible that even by the end of his reign, in 1363, he had scarcely begun to achieve this. Philotheos was in a somewhat better position at the beginning of his reign; but he still had an upward struggle before him.

#### 6.2.2. 'International Hesychasm'

However, even if relations at an official level were strained, this need not necessarily indicate that Byzantine Orthodoxy was without influence over and support from Orthodoxy elsewhere at other levels. A particular area for consideration is the influence of hesychasm. The fourteenth century is often considered to have been a period in which hesychasm, by fostering links across the Orthodox world, enabled the voice of Orthodoxy to become a leading cultural influence in the east.

Unfortunately, the very nature of hesychasm<sup>141</sup> again makes it difficult to determine the importance of its role in the development of Orthodoxy. Given that hesychasm can be read as essentially a spiritual movement, transmitted from spiritual father to spiritual son, it could potentially have produced strong networks across the Orthodox world, and through them exercised strong influence, without this being easily observable. But even if this was the case, there would still be problems in demonstrating a link with specific developments at other levels: even if hesychasm is to be understood as a widespread spiritual influence, it would still be difficult to demonstrate that its influence, *qua* hesychast influence, found expression in anything other than the form of spirituality adopted in different areas. Clearly, hesychasts might group together and try to promote a particular doctrinal or ecclesiological programme; but this does not mean that such a doctrine or programme constitutes an intrinsic part of hesychasm itself.

But although it must always be borne in mind that hesychasm is a difficult phenomenon to deal with, it is possible to try to answer the question of the relative impact of hesychasm from another, more tangible, perspective. When hesychasm is spoken of as a major influence in international Orthodoxy, reference tends to be made to a number of documented examples illustrating its development. Such examples include reference to monastic centres (Athos, Paroria and Kilifarevo); to the founding of monasteries in various regions; to individuals (e.g. Gregory of Sinai, Theodosius and Euthymios of Trnovo, Cyprian, Sergius of Radonezh) and to the connections between them. These examples, pieced together, create a narrative of how 'hesychast' influence developed to great heights across the Orthodox world.

It is not possible here to analyse in any detail the evidence regarding the various aspects of the international development of hesychasm. Instead, the discussion will make use of material which is readily available in secondary sources.<sup>142</sup> Although this clearly has limitations, this is to some degree justified by the limited scope of the present argument, which is designed to answer two specific questions. The first of these questions is whether it is probable that hesychasm, in the 1350s and 1360s, had developed into a determining force in international Orthodoxy. The second is whether hesychasm, in other parts of the Orthodox world, was, in any case, likely to be directly concerned with specifically Byzantine preoccupations. The underlying reason for asking both these questions is to see whether the answer suggests that

<sup>141</sup> See above, pp. 221 ff.

<sup>142</sup> The above list, for example, is taken from Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, pp. 301–307.

'international hesychasm' should be seen as providing the Constantinopolitan patriarchate with sustained support, and hence lending credibility and force to its pronouncements.

Accounts of the origins of the fourteenth century hesychast movement speak of three main centres: Athos, Paroria and Kilifarevo. Athos was home, at various junctures, to leading hesychasts and Palamites, including Palamas himself, Gregory of Sinai, Kallistos, Philotheos and Isidore Boucheiras. Paroria and Kilifarevo were new foundations, the first founded by Gregory of Sinai (d. 1346),<sup>143</sup> c. 1330,<sup>144</sup> the second c. 1350 by Theodosius of Trnovo (d. 1363), a disciple of Gregory, under the patronage of the Bulgarian Tsar John Alexander. Geographically and politically speaking, all three centres lay outside direct Byzantine influence: Athos was under Serbian domination for much of the fourteenth century, while Paroria and Kilifarevo lay within the Bulgarian sphere. The early development of the hesychast movement in the fourteenth century thus took place on the fringes of Byzantium and further afield, not primarily within the Byzantine sphere. This suggests that, although Greek influences were undoubtedly extremely important, and the movement undoubtedly overlapped both Greek and Slavic worlds, to concentrate on hesychasm in Byzantium as the driving force of the movement, and consider the wider movement secondary, may distort the picture.

Leaving this aside for the time being, it is in any case clear that, in terms of dating, Athos, Paroria and Kilifarevo are all relevant to this study, since all were operating by the 1350s. Moreover, the hesychast controversy in Byzantium demonstrates that hesychasm was a significant factor in political and ecclesiological affairs within Byzantine territories from the 1330s onwards: the struggles over the Palamite settlement reveal networks of hesychast-influenced monastics working together to defend and promote their way of life. Isidore Boucheiras, Kallistos and Philotheos can all be seen as demonstrating how these networks operated in consort to enforce their values. It could be assumed on the basis of this that the hesychast network was already extremely developed in the 1330s and 1340s: that it constituted a widespread popular movement with co-ordinated leadership.

Whether this is an accurate picture of hesychasm even in Byzantine territories in the 1340s and 1350s is debateable. Networks can certainly be observed, based on shared spiritual ties. However, it may be wrong to read too much into this, and assume that the observable networks and named

<sup>143</sup> Possibly 27th November 1346, although the date of his death is not certain. See PLP 4601.

<sup>144</sup> Different dates are given. The ODB gives c. 1330 (ODB, 1590f.), while Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, p. 129 gives 1325–1328.

participants point to a self-aware system of 'international hesychasm'. Certainly strong monastic links can be assumed across Byzantium, and across the Orthodox world; but this is quite a different matter from a presumption that these constitute specifically 'hesychast' contacts. Moreover, monastic 'networks' are by no means the only 'networks' evident for the fourteenth century, and accordingly should not be over-emphasised: it is not easy to judge the exact significance and role of different networks and influences.

But even if hesychasm did develop into a self-aware and efficient movement in Byzantium in the 1330s, this may not have exact, or even similar, parallels in other areas of the Orthodox world. Specific circumstances, personalities and cultural conditions brought hesychasm to the fore in Byzantium in the 1330s. Other parts of the Orthodox world were not subject to the same conditions, and therefore may not have mirrored Byzantine developments. Although there were personal connections between individuals involved in the Byzantine controversy and hesychasts elsewhere, the Byzantine *controversy* seems to have largely bypassed Paroria, and been focused more on Byzantine-orientated regions,<sup>145</sup> rather than Slavic. It would probably be unwise to push the implications of this too far—certainly it would be wrong to suggest that the development of hesychasm within Byzantine territories had no implications for the Slavic world—but it would be unlikely, given the particular conditions pertaining in Byzantium, that the particular concerns expressed in the course of the Byzantine hesychast controversy would measure up to the concerns expressed by hesychasts elsewhere.

So far, it has been suggested that it is unsafe to assume either that Byzantine hesychast activities in the 1330s necessarily indicate that hesychasm was a developed movement with an extensive support network, or that they necessarily correspond to developments further afield. Taken together, these two points suggest that it may be advisable to examine the development of hesychasm outside Byzantine territories in the 1350s and 1360s without undue emphasis on specifically Byzantine hesychast concerns.

Both Paroria and Kilifarevo had, as had been mentioned, been founded by c. 1350, and therefore are of relevance here. They both have a great reputation as centres of hesychast influence: Obolensky describes them as 'nurseries for the propagation of Hesychasm in Eastern Europe',<sup>146</sup> while Meyendorff comments that 'hesychastic spirituality spread throughout the Balkans' from Paroria.<sup>147</sup> The difficulty, from the point of view of this study,

<sup>145</sup> See e.g. Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, pp. 37 f.

<sup>146</sup> Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, p. 303.

<sup>147</sup> Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, p. 129.

is that such descriptions are highly unspecific. They do not give any real idea as to the nature, scope and development of the influence exercised by these centres—all of which are important when it comes to assessing the impact of these centres in the 1350s and 1360s. It is true that monastic movements can spread quickly, rapidly reshaping the spiritual landscape; this may have happened in the case of hesychasm,<sup>148</sup> although it would be difficult to prove. But even if this was the case, this still leaves many questions unanswered regarding possible connections between hesychasm's spiritual agenda and more specific doctrinal and ecclesiastical concerns, particularly in terms of development over time and in different regions.

One of the most commonly cited examples of 'hesychast influence'—Kallistos' appeal to Bulgarian hesychasts over the question of commemoration of Constantinople by Trnovo, discussed above<sup>149</sup>—can be used to illustrate the difficulties involved. Much significance is often placed on the part played by hesychasm in this episode. Obolensky, for example, emphasises how Kallistos was supported by Theodosius (of Trnovo), a fellow-disciple of Gregory of Sinai.<sup>150</sup> This connection is clearly significant; but as regards wider, practical developments in Bulgaria at the time, it is difficult to assume from this that hesychast networks and influence were powerful at the time. It does not seem that Theodosius had a particular impact on the relationship between Constantinople and Trnovo at the time, and he retired to Constantinople, where he died in 1363.<sup>151</sup> Hesychast influence can be seen more clearly in Bulgaria later: in 1375 Euthymius, a disciple of Theodosius, became patriarch of Trnovo.<sup>152</sup> This is a much clearer point of contact between hesychast networks and tangible developments: but it falls in the 1370s, not earlier.

Obolensky's account of hesychast development in Eastern Europe, mentioned above,<sup>153</sup> can be used as a basis to further illustrate the point. If the various cases he mentioned are examined, it can be seen that they parallel the case of Bulgaria in important respects. For example, Obolensky men-

<sup>148</sup> Comparisons made between hesychasm and the Cluniac reform would certainly imply this. See Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, p. 107; followed in Papadakis, *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy*, p. 307.

<sup>149</sup> See above, p. 242.

<sup>150</sup> Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, p. 303. See also Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, p. 115.

<sup>151</sup> ODB, 2052 f. PLP 10478.

<sup>152</sup> Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, p. 129.

<sup>153</sup> See above, p. 251, with note 142.

tions Romil of Vidin (d. 1375), a pupil of Gregory of Sinai and Theodosius of Trnovo, as being active in northern Serbia towards the end of his life—i.e. the early 1370s. He describes Serbian hesychasm developing in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. For Wallachia, he mentions contacts with Athos in the early 1370s, followed by the establishment shortly afterwards, under the influence of the hesychast Nikodemos (d. 1406), of the monasteries of Vodița (c. 1374) and Tismana (c. 1385). He mentions the involvement of the Serbian monk Isaiah in the negotiations between Constantinople and Peç in 1375.<sup>154</sup> He mentions the foundation of Neamțu in Moldavia by one of Nikodemos' disciples, in the late fourteenth century. He speaks of Russian monastic revival, with strong connections with Byzantine monasticism, and inspired by Sergius of Radonezh (c. 1314–1392).<sup>155</sup> Although Philotheos and Sergius were in contact in 1354, however, the stronger evidence for hesychast influence in the development of monasticism in Russia belongs to the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth. Another indication of hesychast influence in Russia can be seen in the appointment of Cyprian, a disciple of Euthymius of Trnovo, as metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia in 1375.<sup>156</sup>

What should be clear from this is that most of the specific evidence for the presence of hesychast influence guiding developments in Eastern Europe in the fourteenth century relates to the 1370s and later. It is possible that this does not do justice to the strength of hesychasm at earlier stages; as discussed above,<sup>157</sup> the true strength of hesychasm might be distorted by its potential for ducking under the historical radar. However, it is also quite possible that these examples do in fact give a fair representation of how hesychasm spread: that hesychasm developed slowly, from small beginnings in a few monasteries, amongst relatively restricted circles, and only became more prevalent with the passage of time. To prove the contrary would be difficult, particularly given that much early evidence for the growth of hesychasm is hagiographical, and as such inclined to exaggerate the achievements of its protagonists. The early 'establishment' of hesychasm in Constantinople could be taken as contradicting this argument, by demonstrating that hesychasm was well-established far earlier, and represented a developed programme. But, as already discussed, the conditions in which hesychasm developed in

<sup>154</sup> See above, p. 245.

<sup>155</sup> See also Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 132 ff.

<sup>156</sup> See above, p. 248.

<sup>157</sup> p. 251.



Byzantium were very distinctive and not necessarily relevant elsewhere; moreover, developments in Byzantium with regard to hesychasm are also open to various interpretations.

In answer to the first question posed at the beginning of this section,<sup>158</sup> therefore, the 1350s and 1360s appear in a somewhat uncertain light, in terms of international hesychast development. It would be difficult to prove that 'international hesychasm' did not exercise considerable influence, through channels difficult to identify due to the nature of the sources and the nature of hesychasm. However, it is difficult to point to evidence that hesychasm was established as a substantial force in the wider Orthodox world in these decades. Given that patterns of hesychast influence then become more evident from the 1370s onwards, the lack of similar evidence for the earlier period does suggest that the influence of international hesychasm was embryonic in the 1350s and 1360s. It follows from this that it is unlikely that 'international hesychasm' was capable, in these decades, of providing support for the patriarchate of Constantinople, in any distinctive or effective sense.

This answer to the first question in some ways makes the second question (whether 'international hesychasm' was of a nature likely to align it particularly with Constantinopolitan concerns) somewhat superfluous, from the point of view of the present argument. However, in other ways the question is very much worth considering. It is a very difficult, loaded question, because it relates to much wider questions concerning the relationship between Byzantium and Eastern Europe and the ecclesiastical development of Orthodoxy. These questions cannot be investigated in any depth here. However, a few observations are worth making regarding.

One point concerns possible connections between hesychasm and promotion of the authority of Constantinople. There were, in the Orthodox world, evidently factors acting both in favour of and against Constantinople's authority: Bulgarian and Serbian claims to ecclesiastical independence demonstrate certain centrifugal tendencies,<sup>159</sup> while at the same time cultural, ecclesiastical and ideological considerations point to strong links between Constantinople and other Orthodox sees. The case of Kallistos' attempt to secure recognition of Constantinople in Trnovo, discussed above, can be read as a clash between these two tendencies. It is tempting, given that in this case Kallistos appealed to fellow-hesychasts, to assign hesychasm a particular role promoting Constantinopolitan authority. However, is this

<sup>158</sup> See above, p. 251.

<sup>159</sup> See above, pp. 243–246.

justified? Even if Theodosius of Trnovo did support the authority of Constantinople in Bulgaria, need this be read as an indication that this was characteristic function Eastern European hesychasm?—that the hesychasts related to the patriarchate in a similar way to how the western mendicant orders related to the papacy, and that this gave them a great interest in Constantinopolitan concerns?

What is perhaps more likely is that the connections between patriarchate and 'international hesychasm' were rather less specific, and that their concerns overlapped in certain respects, but were by no means identical. In Byzantium, hesychast concerns were brought together with specific doctrinal and hierarchical controversies at an early stage, in a way not paralleled elsewhere. Byzantine hesychasm therefore had to incorporate concerns not so relevant to Slavic hesychasm. This suggests that even if Slavic hesychasm can at times be seen to support maintenance of ecclesiastical relations across the Orthodox world, and thus the authority of Constantinople, it may be a mistake to read this as full identification with specifics of the Constantinopolitan agenda. It may simply indicate a preference for maintaining the traditional structure of church relations.

Thus Theodosius' support of Kallistos in the matter of the commemoration need not necessarily mean full support of Kallistos' specific understanding of the role of Constantinople, or of Kallistos' political agenda. It need only indicate that Theodosios, personally, and perhaps a group of Bulgarian hesychasts, preferred traditional structures in ecclesiastical relations. It need not necessarily even indicate that this was a characteristically hesychast approach. Moreover, although the shared hesychast background would have been an important connection between Theodosios and Kallistos, it need not imply identical concerns. These various considerations indicate that it may be preferable to consider Slavic hesychasm not in terms of the preoccupations of Byzantine hesychasm, but in terms of its own probable preoccupations, arising from its own circumstances.

Further, the case of Theodosios and Kallistos illustrates another factor potentially affecting the relationship between Greek/Byzantine-orientated hesychasm and hesychasm elsewhere. If the personal connection between Theodosios and Kallistos was an important factor in the case of Bulgaria, this raises the question of whether the personalities and personal interests of different patriarchs might have affected the relationship between Byzantine and non-Byzantine hesychast concerns. For example, although Kallistos and Philotheos were certainly both hesychasts, and with close connections in some respects, they also display somewhat different preferences and preoccupations. Kallistos seems to have been closer to Gregory of Sinai,

Philotheos closer to Palamas,<sup>160</sup> and although Kallistos presided over the 1351 synod, he does not seem to have been as doctrinally and politically engaged as Philotheos. Might this indicate that Kallistos placed more emphasis on hesychasm as a wider spiritual movement, while Philotheos focused more on local, doctrinal issues? This is no doubt an over-simplification of matters; but it might imply significant differences in the role of the hesychast connection in their respective periods in office. The personal disagreement between Kallistos and Philotheos may support this. What this underlines is that it is important to realise that the relationship between Constantinople and international hesychasm may have differed under the different patriarchs; it should not necessarily be seen as a constant.

What the above discussion implies is that, with regards to the 1350s and 1360s, it cannot be assumed that the 'hesychast international' formed a movement capable of, or necessarily interested in, supporting the specific agenda of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate. Not only does available evidence fail to demonstrate that 'international hesychasm' by this stage constituted an established and self-confident movement, but the nature of hesychasm also suggests that it should not be identified with a specific agenda identical to that of the patriarchate. This is not, it should be emphasised, an argument designed to denigrate the importance of hesychasm more generally; it is merely designed, within this study, to indicate that it is not reasonable to cite 'international hesychasm' uncritically as a force supporting the hesychast patriarchs of Constantinople.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The intention in this chapter has not been to examine the developments within Orthodoxy in this period in great detail, but merely to suggest that they need not be read in such a way as to undermine the validity of what has been suggested elsewhere in this study. Above all, the hope is that this chapter will have demonstrated that Orthodox developments should not be

<sup>160</sup> Their writings support this idea. Kallistos wrote *Lives of Gregory of Sinai and Theodosius of Trnovo* (see Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, pp. 774f.), thus suggesting a greater interest in Parorian influences and the Slavic world, while Philotheos wrote *Lives of Palamas, Isidore Boucheiras, Sabas of Vatopedi and Nikodemos the Younger* (in Tsames, *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινοπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου Ἀγιολόγια Ἔργα*. See also Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, p. 272), all of whom fall within the Athonite/Byzantine sphere.

treated in an uncritical and undifferentiated manner; that any attempt to deal with Orthodoxy in the period must take into account a great complex of cultural, political and intellectual considerations. Much work remains to be done in this area, in particular regarding the development of Orthodoxy over time.

More specifically, this chapter has taken various trends in the development of Orthodoxy in the 1350s and 1360s and argued that these are unlikely to have endowed the Byzantine Orthodox church with the degree of stability and strength necessary for it to provide leadership for a unified Orthodox response to the challenges of the period. In the absence of this, it becomes increasingly unlikely that Byzantine developments in the period can be adequately interpreted in terms of a consistent, Orthodox-led anti-western majority, and increasingly likely that the political and cultural fragmentation of the region may have led to a range of approaches being adopted within Orthodoxy.

That this is true can, moreover, be further illustrated by examining the question from a different angle, focusing attention on an issue of particular importance to the contextualisation of Demetrius Kydones' ideas: namely, the nature of 'anti-western' attitudes in the period, and their relationship to Byzantine Orthodoxy. There is a tendency to associate the two phenomena, and interpret developments accordingly, without examining their precise scope and implications. This approach, however, fails to take into account two very important considerations. First, it fails to do justice to the fact that 'anti-western sentiment' can operate at very different levels, and that it is important to distinguish between these different levels in any analysis of the situation. Second, it fails to recognise that it may not be appropriate to assume that Orthodox opinion should be equated with negative response to the west on all the different levels; indeed, that there may be levels at which Orthodox opinion could even allow for a positive response, and that these may themselves be of central importance in the developments of the period.

There is, unfortunately, neither time nor space to discuss these questions in detail in this study. However, it is possible to illustrate what is meant by this, and provide some justification for it, by a brief discussion centring on three of the major Orthodox figures of the period, who have appeared frequently in the course of this study: Kantakuzenos, Kallistos and Philotheos Kokkinos.

Kantakuzenos is particularly useful as an example illustrating the compatibility of doctrinal orthodoxy and explicit Palamism with certain levels of pro-western and pro-unionist attitudes. Kantakuzenos' (Palamite)

Orthodoxy cannot seriously be questioned: his activities, and his writings,<sup>161</sup> confirm this. But this did not prevent him from actively pursuing negotiations with the papacy, and investigating western theology, as has been described in the course of this study. That he did not regard support of Palamism as incompatible with this is demonstrated by one of his pro-Palamite works,<sup>162</sup> in which he seeks—respectfully<sup>163</sup>—to explain the tenets of Palamism to the Latin patriarch, Paul. In another text relating to discussions with Paul,<sup>164</sup> Kantakuzenos goes as far as to declare himself a life-long supporter of church union,<sup>165</sup> willing to sacrifice himself for the sake of unity<sup>166</sup>—willing even to go to the ends of the earth and abase himself before the pope, for the sake of unity.<sup>167</sup> The text is, in other respects, uncompromisingly Orthodox: Kantakuzenos insists upon a council and criticises western practices, attitudes and western doctrine. For Kantakuzenos, doctrinal Orthodoxy evidently did not rule out dealings—even enthusiastic dealings—with the papacy.

Consideration of Kallistos' role in affairs, moreover, can contribute further to appreciating some of the nuances involved in the question of Orthodox relations with the west. Kallistos has a reputation for being 'anti-western': Beck, for example, describes him as successfully opposing John V's attempts at union.<sup>168</sup> Nicol describes him as follows: 'Like Philotheos, he was a fervent hesychast and temperamentally unsympathetic to Latin theology. He

<sup>161</sup> See Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, pp. 731 f.; also Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor*, pp. 145 ff.

<sup>162</sup> In Voordeckers, E. & Tinnefeld, F., (eds.), *Refutationes duae Prochori Cydoni et Disputatio cum Paulo Patriarcha Latino epistulis septem tradita Iohannis Cantacuzeni* (Brepols, Turnhout, 1987).

<sup>163</sup> Voordeckers & Tinnefeld, *Refutationes duae Prochori Cydoni*, XLI f.

<sup>164</sup> In 1367. Text in Meyendorff, 'Projets de concile oecuménique en 1367'.

<sup>165</sup> οὐδεις τῶν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκκλησίας ἢ τῶν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐστὶν ὃς εἰπεῖν δυνήσεται τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔνωσιν ὀρέγεσθαι πλέον ἐμοῦ. Καὶ γὰρ σχεδὸν ἀφ' ἧς ὥρας ἐγεννήθη ἐν τὸν κόσμον καὶ εἶδον τὸν ἥλιον, ἐκ τότε ὀρεγόμεν καὶ ἐπεθύμουν ἰδεῖν τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔνωσιν. Meyendorff, 'Projets de concile oecuménique en 1367', p. 172, 102–105.

<sup>166</sup> Λέγω δὴ τοῦτο ἐνώπιον διαμαρτυρούμενος τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ ὅτι εἰ συντελεῖ τὸν ἐμὸν γενέσθαι θάνατον διὰ πυρὸς διὰ τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔνωσιν, ἐγὼ ἂν αὐτὸς συλλέξας ξύλα ἀνήψα τοῦτο καὶ εἰσῆλθον ἐντὸς μετὰ μεγάλης ὀρέξεως καὶ ἐπιθυμίας. Meyendorff, 'Projets de concile oecuménique en 1367', pp. 171 f., 86–90.

<sup>167</sup> ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔνωσιν οὐ μόνον μετὰ ἀλόγων ἢ καὶ κατέργων, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ παραγενομένην ἂν πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀκρότατον τῆς γῆς ὡς εὗρισκετο... ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐνωθῆναι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὡς εἰρηται, οὐ τὸν αὐτοῦ πόδα ἡσπασάμην ἂν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀλόγου αὐτοῦ· ἔτι τε καὶ τὸ χῶμα ὅπερ πατεῖ. Meyendorff, 'Projets de concile oecuménique en 1367', p. 176, 254–260.

<sup>168</sup> 'andererseits widersetzte er sich erfolgreich den Unionsbestrebungen seines Kaisers', Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, p. 774.

was not averse to exploring the possibilities of union through the medium of an oecumenical (sic) council. But he had strong views on the doctrinal errors of the Roman church and on the exalted status of his own Patriarchate.<sup>169</sup> These comments can be used to highlight some of the methodological pitfalls which can create obstacles to productive treatment of the relationship between Byzantium and the west.

One of these methodological problems is the danger of false anomalies—that is, the tendency to wrongly regard certain phenomena as anomalous or mutually incompatible, on the basis of inaccurate preconceptions of what constitutes the norm. Nicol's comments, for example, could be taken to imply that Kallistos' attitude to doctrine and authority is in conflict with his openness to the idea of a council: that that one should expect hard-line Orthodoxy to rule out positive dealings between the papacy and the west. But this would be a false anomaly. The duty to safeguard orthodoxy lay at the heart of patriarchal duties, and, in the absence of a settlement with the west, this would necessarily include rejection of certain western doctrines. But this need not necessitate outright rejection of the idea of a council, provided it could be understood by the patriarchate as orthodox and canonical. Indeed, a council could, if carried out under acceptable terms, be regarded as entirely consonant with a hard-line approach to orthodoxy and authority. To imply that willingness to contemplate the idea of a council must be at odds with a strict sense of orthodox doctrine and authority is thus an example of a false anomaly.

This is not to say, of course, that the attitude of the patriarchate towards the idea of a council necessarily had to be positive, but merely that it *could* be positive without being inconsistent. In Kallistos' case, indeed, it is rather difficult to assess precisely how he understood the situation; he may well have been generally negative towards the prospect of a council. But the case of Philotheos Kokkinos demonstrates that it was indeed possible to regard the idea of a council in a positive light. Philotheos, like Kallistos, tends to be regarded as somewhat hard-line. He was active in promoting Palamism and hesychasm, and in enforcing orthodox doctrine: his second patriarchate saw numerous cases against anti-Palamites and against Latin doctrinal error.<sup>170</sup> But despite this, he appears to have embraced the idea of a council. Although he refused to enter into negotiations on an official

<sup>169</sup> Nicol, *Last Centuries*, p. 260.

<sup>170</sup> E.g. Darrouzès, *Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople*, N. 2546 (= MM I, 501 f.); Darrouzès, *Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople*, N. 2555 (= MM I, 503–505).

basis with the Latin patriarch, Paul, in 1367,<sup>171</sup> a letter of Philotheos written in response to the negotiations suggests that both he and the other eastern patriarchs were willing to be involved in a potential council, at least on their own terms.<sup>172</sup> Moreover, Philotheos' letter reinforces the idea that he, at least, did not see this as incompatible with doctrinal orthodoxy: while the first half of the letter deals with the calling of a council, the second half reasserts uncompromising fidelity to the orthodox faith.

Returning to the comments of Beck and Nicol cited above, they can also be used to illustrate another common error sometimes found in discussions of the relationship between Byzantium and the west: the danger of false connections, as opposed to false anomalies—that is, the tendency to assume that what applies at one level has clear and predictable consequences at another. Nicol and Beck do not, in these cases, fall into the trap, but their readers might well do so. For example, when Nicol describes Kallistos as 'temperamentally unsympathetic to Latin theology', a reflex action might be to gloss this as indicating an overall antipathy towards the Latins—which would be a very different thing. When Beck describes Kallistos as opposing John V's approach to union, it might be tempting to gloss this as indicating opposition to all possible permutations of the idea—whereas it need only imply disagreement with John's approach, not the whole idea. Clearly, there would be connections between attitudes to these different aspects of the question; but one should be careful about assuming what the connections might be. Too facile an interpretation—a 'package deal' approach—could be misleading, and would fail to do justice to the ability of those involved to distinguish between different levels of operation, and to the range of choice open to them.

<sup>171</sup> The account of the discussions says that Philotheos refused to enter into official negotiations with Paul, but was willing to hold private discussions (*ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν εἰπὼν «Πῶς μέλλω ἰδεῖν τοῦτον συνοδικῶς καὶ κινήσαί τι περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔφερε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοῦ πάπα γραφήν; Ἀλλ' εἴπερ βούλεται φιλικῶς μόνος πρὸς μόνον ὁμιλῆσαι, στέργω τοῦτον καὶ ἀποδέχομαι»*). Meyendorff, 'Projets de concile oecuménique en 1367', p. 170, 18–21), which Paul then refused. Meyendorff (op. cit., p. 157) suggests that Philotheos refused to have official dealings with Paul because, in the absence of letters making Paul officially papal envoy, Paul would have to be received in his capacity of Latin patriarch, which directly challenged Philotheos' own authority.

<sup>172</sup> The account of the 1367 concludes with an agreement that a council would soon be held in Constantinople (Meyendorff, 'Projets de concile oecuménique en 1367', p. 177, section 26). MM I, 491–493 gives the text of a letter of Philotheos to Bulgarian recipients which bears this out. In it, Philotheos describes the intervention of Amadeo of Savoy and Paul, explaining that the synod has decided to call a council after the manner of the seven ecumenical councils, that the patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem concur, and that all three have been sending out letters to summon the council.

This can be illustrated further by looking at a document of c. 1361, from the patriarchal registers.<sup>173</sup> In it, Kallistos, writing to John V in response to a proposed agreement with the Venetians and Genoese, adds his own comments in the form of a number of conditions/recommendations. First, he insists that the church must not be affected, especially doctrinally, by the agreement; second, that there should be no loss of Byzantine sovereignty (the emphasis is on political sovereignty); third, that there should not be excessive expenditure; fourth, that John's word should suffice in sealing the treaty, rather than any oath-taking.<sup>174</sup> With regard to the first of these conditions, Kallistos adds that he is not saying this because he doubts John V's credentials in matters of faith, but because of the conceptions and suspicions entertained by the people.<sup>175</sup>

This text can be used to illustrate the importance of not making false connections between different levels of operation. If the 'package deal' approach is taken to Orthodox attitudes to the west, this document could be read primarily in negative terms. Kallistos' comments about John's faith and popular opinion particularly lend themselves to this, since they can be read as criticism of John's activities, and by extension as expressing objection to dealings with the west. However, if, as suggested above, doctrinal orthodoxy is compatible with willingness to have dealings with the western church, Kallistos' comments need only be taken to indicate legitimate concern that no uncanonical liberties be taken. Kallistos is speaking, in any case, in the context of a political treaty, which could never legitimate ecclesiastical or doctrinal changes. There is no need to conclude from this that Kallistos was opposed to dealing with the western church on such matters. Moreover, the text also indicates that Kallistos accepted the necessity of political treaties with Latins and that he was willing to be involved in the process; that is, that he was able to distinguish between different types of contact with the west, and respond accordingly.

It is possible, on the basis of this brief discussion of Kantakuzenos, Kallistos and Philotheos, to add to the main argument of this chapter a further, extremely important consideration. It would seem, from what has been said,

<sup>173</sup> Darrouzès, *Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople*, N. 2437 (= Koder et al, *Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, Teil 3, no. 260).

<sup>174</sup> Koder et al, *Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, Teil 3, no. 260, 23–38.

<sup>175</sup> *τοῦτο δὲ εἴρηκεν ἡ μετριότης ἡμῶν οὐχ, ὅτι ἄλλως ἡγεῖται τὴν ἁγίαν βασιλείαν σου περὶ τούτων ἔχειν—πάσαι γὰρ οἶδε ταύτην ἐμμένουσαν μὲν τοῖς πατράοις δόγμασι καὶ ἐστηριγμένην ἐν τούτοις παγίως, ἀποδιώκουσαν δὲ πᾶν ἀλλότριον δόγμα καὶ νόθον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας—, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς ὑπολήψεις τε καὶ ὑποψίας, ἃς ἔχουσιν οἱ πολλοί. Ibid., 25–30.*

that to interpret the Orthodox response in the period primarily in terms of an un-nuanced sense of anti-western sentiment may in any case be misleading. This is not to say that anti-western sentiment was not important; but it was not a single phenomenon, and could operate on many different levels. It would be perfectly possible, for example, for an individual, or a group, within Orthodoxy to consider certain western groups, beliefs, policies or activities as unacceptable, but at the same time to accept others. As has been seen, even mainstream Orthodox figures with a hard-line reputation could regard certain levels of contact with the west in a positive light. Moreover, the brief discussion here has only scratched the surface of the question, looking at the most obvious questions and levels of contact. For an accurate picture of the complexity of the situation and the reactions of the Orthodox population to be given, many other factors and possibilities would need to be taken into consideration.

With regard to the overall argument of this study, this additional consideration adds further support, from a slightly different angle, to the idea that it is a mistake to interpret the situation in Byzantium in the 1350s and 1360s in terms of a majority 'Orthodox opinion' set against other approaches, which must by contrast be considered marginal and/or anomalous. The situation would instead be better understood as one likely to produce a range of ideological and practical responses. This can be applied as much to the staunchly Orthodox population as to other sectors of society, and, in the absence of a united response capable of counteracting these tendencies, it is reasonable to assume that different groups within the Orthodox population favoured different approaches. Thus it would probably be more reasonable—and profitable—to approach this period with a sense that most phenomena encountered have the potential to shed light on the real character of Byzantine society and its developments.

## CONCLUSION

What has been attempted in this study is, at a basic level, a presentation of one of the more fascinating Byzantines of the fourteenth century. Demetrius Kydones, as has been seen, is worthy of attention at many levels, and, although it has not been possible—particularly given the restricted historical framework employed—to do full justice to these many levels, it is hoped that this study will provide sufficient material to allow scholars working in different disciplines and with different emphases to follow up aspects of his life and works likely to inform their own work.

However, this study has not approached Demetrius purely with this in mind, but with a particular emphasis on his significance within his historical context. In doing so, it has not worked on the basis that the contours of this area of fourteenth century history are clear, but on the understanding that not only does there as yet exist no comprehensive account of the period, but that this is also a highly complex field, in which a great number of circumstances, possibilities and probabilities should be considered before any such account can be given. It has therefore approached Demetrius Kydones not as a figure to be placed in a pre-determined context, but as a figure whose career and writings themselves, suitably interpreted, are an essential part of any attempt to understand the historical context.

In a sense, this means that this study is not of a nature to make it amenable to conclusions, and must rest content with the tentative suggestions and discussions which have been presented at intervals along the way. However, it is worth gathering together some of the key themes highlighted, either explicitly or implicitly, in the course of this thesis.

First, one of the key contentions of this study is that Demetrius must be approached first and foremost within his Byzantine setting, even when dealing with areas of his thought which are less than traditionally 'Byzantine'. This has been indicated throughout this study, both implicitly through the juxtaposition of Demetrius' Byzantine intellectual and political setting with his apparently atypical interests and theological approach, and explicitly in the identification of his sense of Byzantine identity and the centrality of his main preoccupations to mainstream Byzantine concerns in the period. Demetrius' 'Catholicism' does not detract from this: his decisions and ideas

are best understood not as correspondingly alien to Byzantine culture, but as a response to the complex cultural and political situation of the Byzantines of the period, and as such capable of shedding much light on both. Where Demetrius appears 'un-Byzantine', this is perhaps more because assumptions generally applied to 'Byzantine' society require re-evaluation for his period, rather than because of his own status.

Closely connected to this is a second key contention of this thesis: that it is important not to apply to the decades under study—decades subject to unique conditions—criteria taken from other periods, and from disparate levels of discourse, without careful consideration of their scope and evolution. In the context of this study this applies particularly to Byzantine relations with and attitudes to the west. Certainly, there are themes which recur over the centuries, both religious and non-religious, which must be taken into account; but they operate at many different levels, and even when their expression does not change their impact may. The development of these themes need not involve linear progression, but can be cyclic, or involve parallel streams, the relative importance of which depends on many different circumstances; moreover, they should not be applied interchangeably. For example, how technical elucidation of schism and doctrine relates to practical developments requires nuanced treatment, and it is not always appropriate to allow the agenda to be set by accounts of the period which prioritise such (long-term) technical considerations to the exclusion of attention to details less amenable to systematisation. If this is understood, it then becomes possible to read Demetrius' contribution more accurately, in its own terms, rather than according to excessive application of external criteria: in other words, this is one area in which assumptions applied to Byzantine society require re-evaluation.

This is not to downplay the importance of divisions and long-term considerations. But the existence of division is perfectly compatible with developed society, and the impact of long-term considerations can vary considerably. Opposing tendencies can develop alongside each other for centuries, evolving in scope, emphasis, expression and respective strength, and exercising influence on each other's development. So it is with Byzantium's relationship with the west. History and geography—and ecclesiastical conditions—provided factors both favourable and antithetical to a close relationship. Any treatment of Byzantine developments is almost bound to have to deal with the tension between these two sets of factors—with both positive and negative phenomena. The relative strength of the different phenomena varies over time; but the tension can be regarded as integral to Byzantine development. What is particularly noteworthy in the fourteenth century is not so

much that phenomena are observable which clearly result from this tension, but how visible the wide range of approaches is. This suggests that no single approach could exercise decisive coercive power, physically or culturally; and this once again underlines the importance of regarding 'Byzantine' society in this period not as monolithic, but as complex, capable of embracing disparate elements.

This study therefore concludes with an emphatic insistence that the latter half of the fourteenth century requires re-evaluation, but fully aware that, by its nature, it is itself unable to offer any exhaustive new interpretation of the full sweep of developments; it is too narrowly focused on one aspect of developments to allow for that. A full account would require consideration of much further material relating to the period, including material very different to that offered by Demetrius, particularly that to be found in the more specifically Orthodox writings (amongst which works by Katakuzenos, Philotheos and Kallistos, but also many others), with their emphasis on different agendas. What this thesis has, however, hopefully achieved is to establish that the light shed upon the period by examination of Demetrius' career and writings is in some sense applicable to other sources; that is to say, that other sources would greatly benefit from close analysis on different levels, with a similar awareness that their scope and context is far from fully established on the basis of external criteria. If the discussion in this study is in any way viable, it points the way in the direction of much further work aimed at analysing the process behind numerous developments of this crucial transitional period, particularly those relating to developments within Byzantine Orthodoxy, and the continued progress of the tension inherent in Byzantine response to the west, both of which are so strikingly present in the following century, in the final years before the fall of Constantinople.

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY<sup>1</sup>

### *Catalogues*

- Bandini, A.M., *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Laurentianae*, Vol. 3 (Typis Caesareis, Florence, 1768)
- Canart, P., *Codices Vaticani Graeci: Codices 1745–1962* (Vatican City, 1970–1973)
- Devreesse, R., *Codices Vaticani Graeci. tom. 2: Codices 330–603* (Bibliotheca Vaticana, Vatican City, 1937)
- , *Le fonds Coislin* (Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1945)
- , *Codices Vaticani Graeci, tom. 3: Codices 604–866* (Bibliotheca Vaticana, Vatican City, 1950)
- Omont, H., *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1886)

### *Collections of Sources/Official Documents*

- Darrouzès, J., *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat de Constantinople, I: Les Actes des Patriarches, fasc. V (1310 à 1376)* (Institut français d'études Byzantines, Paris, 1977)
- Denzinger, H., *Enchiridion Symbolorum: definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum* (33rd Edition, Barcinone, 1965)
- Hunger, H. and Kresten, O. (eds.), *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel, Teil 2* (Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Vienna, 1995)
- Koder, J., Hinterberger, M. and Kresten, O. (eds.), *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel, Teil 3* (Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 2001)
- Laurent, V., 'Les droits de l'empereur en matière ecclésiastique. L'accord de 1380–1382', *REB* 13 (1955), pp. 5–20
- Lecacheux, P., *Lettres secrètes et curiales du pape Urbain V se rapportant à la France, fasc. 2* (Paris, 1906)
- Loenertz, R.-J., 'Ambassadeurs grecs auprès du Pape Clement VI (1348)', *OCP* 19 (1953), pp. 178–196

<sup>1</sup> NB. Bibliography includes only material cited in the main body of this study; it is not intended as a full bibliography of all relevant material on the subject. It has not been possible to incorporate material published after 2006.

- Mercati, G., *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniote ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV* (SeT 56, 1931)
- Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. III (Zagreb, 1884)
- Omout, H., 'Projet de réunion des Eglises grecque et latine sous Charles le Bel en 1327', in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 53 (1892), pp. 254-257
- , 'Lettre d'Andronic II Paléologue au pape Jean XXII', in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 67 (1906), p. 587
- Tanner, N. (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils. Vol. I: Nicaea I to Lateran V* (Georgetown University Press, 1990)
- Tautu, A.L., *Acta Innocentii PP VI (1352-1362) e registis Vaticanis aliisque fontibus* (Typis Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae, Rome, 1961)
- , *Acta Urbani PP V (1362-1370) e registis Vaticanis aliisque fontibus* (Typis Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae Rome, 1964)
- Vidal, J.M., *Benoît XII. Lettres communes analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican*, vol. III (Paris, 1911)

Primary Texts: Individual Authors

- Anselm of Canterbury, *De azymo et fermentato ad Walerrannum episcopum*: Latin text: PL 158, 541-548; English translation: in Hopkins, J. & Richardson, H. (trans.), *Anselm of Canterbury, Vol. 3* (Edwin Mellen Press, Toronto, 1976)
- , *De processione Spiritus sancti*: Latin text: PL 158, 286-326; English translation: in Hopkins, J. & Richardson, H. (trans.), *Anselm of Canterbury, Vol. 3* (Edwin Mellen Press, Toronto, 1976)
- Augustine, *De Beata Vita*: Latin text: Jolivet, R., *Œuvres de Saint Augustin, 1re Série. Opuscule IV, 1: Dialogues philosophiques. I. Problèmes fondamentaux* (Desclée, De Brouwer, Paris, 1939)
- , *De libero arbitrio*: Edition of Prochoros Kydones' Greek translation (fragments): in Hunger, H. (ed.), *Prochoros Kydones' Übersetzungen von S. Augustinus, De libero arbitrio I 1-90 und Ps. -Augustinus De decem plagis Aegyptiorum* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 1990); English translation: in Burleigh, J.H.S. (ed. & trans.), *Augustine: Earlier Writings* (SCM Press, London, 1953)
- , *De Trinitate*: Greek edition of Planudes' translation: Papathomopoulos, M., Tsavari, I., Rigotti, G. (eds.), *Αυγουστίνου Περί Τριάδος βιβλία πεντεκαιδέκα, ἄπερ ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν ἑλλάδα μετήνευγε Μάξιμος ὁ Πλανύδης* (2 Vols) (Κέντρον Ἐκδόσεως Ἐργῶν Ἑλληνῶν Συγγραφέων, Athens, 1995); English translation: Hill, E., (trans.), *Saint Augustine: The Trinity* (New City Press, Brooklyn, N.Y., 1991)
- , *De vera religione*: Latin text: PL 34, 121-172; English translation: in Edition of Prochoros Kydones' Greek translation (fragments): in Burleigh, J.H.S. (ed. & trans.), *Augustine: Earlier Writings* (SCM Press, London, 1953)
- , *Enchiridion*: English translation: Evans, E. (trans.), *Saint Augustine's Enchiridion* (S.P.C.K., London, 1953)
- , *In Iohannis Evangelium*: Latin text: CCSL 36; English translation: Browne,

- H. (trans.), *Homilies on the Gospel according to St. John and his first Epistle* (John Henry Parker, Oxford, 1848-1849); Greek edition of excerpts translated by Demetrius Kydones: in Mai, A. (ed.), *Novae patrum bibliothecae tomus primus* (Rome, 1844, 414-427)
- , *Letters*: Greek edition of Prochoros Kydones' translation of eight letters: Hunger, H. (ed.), *Prochoros Kydones, Übersetzung von acht Briefen des Hl. Augustinus* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 1984); English translation: in Teske, R.J. (tr.), *Augustine, Letters 1-99* (New City Press, Hyde Park, New York, 2001) and *ibid.*, *Augustine, Letters 100-155* (New City Press, Hyde Park, New York, 2003)
- Pseudo-Augustinian texts, *De decem verbis legis et decem plagis Aegyptiorum*: Latin text: CCSL 103, 403-413; Edition of Prochoros Kydones' Greek translation: in Hunger, H. (ed.), *Prochoros Kydones' Übersetzungen von S. Augustinus, De libero arbitrio I 1-90 und Ps. -Augustinus De decem plagis Aegyptiorum* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 1990)
- , *De duodecim abusivorum gradibus*: Latin text: PL 40, 1079-1088; also Hellmann, C., 'Pseudo-Cyprianus, De XII abusivis saeculi', in *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 34, 1, Leipzig, 1909, 1-60
- , *De Fide ad Petrum* (Fulgentius of Ruspe): Latin text: Fraipont, J., (ed.), *Sancti Fulgentii Episcopi Ruspensis Opera*, CCSL 91-91A (Brepols, Turnhout, 1968); English translation: in Eno, R.B., (trans.), *Fulgentius: Selected Works* (Catholic University of America Press, Washington D.C., 1997)
- , *Liber Sententiarum* (Prosper of Aquitaine): Latin edition: CCSL 68a, 213-365
- , *Soliliquia sive Monologia*: Latin text: PL 40, 863-898
- Aquinas, Thomas, *De articulis fidei et Ecclesiae sacramentis ad archiepiscopum Panormitanum*: Latin text: in Verardo, R., *S. Thomae Aquinatis doctoris anglicani opuscula theologica, Vol I* (Marietti, Turin, 1954)
- , *De mundi Aeternitate*: Latin text: in Spiazzi, R.M., *Divi Thomae Aquinatis doctoris anglicani opuscula philosophica* (Marietti, Turin, 1954)
- , *De potentia Dei*: Latin text: in Spiazzi, R.M. (ed.) *Quaestiones Disputatae S. Thomae Aquinatis, vol. 2* (Marietti, Turin/Rome, 1964-1965); English translation: Fathers of the English Dominican Province, *On the Power of God (Quaestiones disputatae de potentia Dei) by Saint Thomas Aquinas* (3 Vols) (Burns, Oates & Washbourne Ltd., London 1932-1934)
- , *De rationibus fidei contra Saracenos, Graecos et Armenos ad Cantorem Antiochiae*: Latin edition: Editio Leonina, vol. 40, B, 57-73; English translation: Fehlner, Fr. P.D.M. (trans.), *Thomas Aquinas: De rationibus fidei contra Saracenos, Graecos et Armenos ad Cantorem Antiochenum* (New Bedford, 2002)
- , *De spiritualibus creaturis*: Latin text: in Spiazzi, R.M. (ed.) *Quaestiones Disputatae S. Thomae Aquinatis* (Marietti, Turin/Rome, 1964-1965); English translation: Fitzpatrick, M.C., Wellmuth, J.J. (trans.) *On Spiritual Creatures (de spiritualibus creaturis)* (Marquette University Press, Milwaukee, 1949)
- , *Summa Contra Gentiles*: English translation: Pegis, A.C., Anderson, J.F., Bourke, V. J., O'Neil, C.J. (eds. & trans.), *Thomas Aquinas: Summa Contra Gentiles* (University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame (Ind.), 1975) (= Reprint of earlier edition *On the Truth of the Catholic Faith* (Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y., 1955-1957))



- , *Summa Theologiae*: English translation: Fathers of the English Dominican Province, *Thomas Aquinas: Summa Theologica* (5 Vols) (Library of Christian Classics, Westminster, Md, 1981) (= reprint of Rev. Edition (1920) of 1911 edition)
- Barlaam of Calabria, 'Un progetto di Barlaam Calabro per l'unione delle chiese', Gianelli, C., *SeT* 3 (1947), pp. 157–208
- , 'Barlaam the Calabrian. Three Treatises on Papal Primacy, Introduction, Edition, and Translation', Kolbaba, T.M., in *REB* 53 (1995), pp. 41–115
- Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae*: Latin and English in: Stewart, H.E., Rand, E.K., Tester, S.J. (trans.), *Boethius. Tractates. Consolation of Philosophy* (Second Edition) (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1973); Edition of Maximus Planudes' Greek translation: Bétant, E.A. (ed.), *De la Consolation de la Philosophie, traduction grecque de Maxime Planudes, publiée pour la première fois dans son entière* (Geneva, 1871)
- , *De hypotheticis syllogismis*: Edition of thirteenth century Greek translation: Nikitas, D.Z. (ed.), *Eine byzantinische Übersetzung von Boethius' 'De hypotheticis syllogismis'* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1982)
- , *De topicis differentiis*: Latin text: PL 64, 1173–1216; English translation: Stump, E., *Boethius' De topicis differentiis, translated with notes and essays on the text* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1978); Edition of thirteenth and fourteenth century Greek translations (by ?Manuel Holobolos and Prochoros Kydonos): Nikitas, D.Z. (ed.), *Boethius, De topicis differentiis και οι βυζαντινές μεταφράσεις των Μανουήλ Όλοβόλου και Προχόρου Κυδώνη* (Ακαδημία Αθηνών, Athens, 1990)
- , *De Trinitate*: Latin and English in: Stewart, H.E., Rand, E.K., Tester, S.J. (trans.), *Boethius. Tractates. Consolation of Philosophy*, (Second Edition) (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1973); Greek translation by Manuel Kalekas in: Pertusi, A., 'Gli studi latini di Manuele Caleca e la traduzione greca del (de trinitate) di Boezio', in *Miscellanea Giovanni Galbiati* (U. Hoepli, Milan, 1951), pp. 300–312
- Gregory the Great, *Homily XXVI*: Latin text: PL 76, 1197–1206; English translation: in Hurst, D., *Forty Gospel Homilies, Gregory the Great* (Cistercian Publications, Kalamazoo, Mich., 1990)
- Gui, Bernard, *Vita s. Thomae Aquinatis*: Latin text: *Revue thomiste* 9 (1926) and 10 (1927), Supplement, pp. 216–222
- Hervaeus Natalis, *Hervei Natalis Britonis. In quatuor libros Sententiarum commentaria: quibus adiectus est eiusdem auctoris tractatus De potestate Papae*, (= facsimile of 1647 edition) (Gregg Press, Farnborough, 1966)
- John de Fontibus, 'Ioannis de Fontibus ord. Praedicatorum epistula ad abbatem et conventum monasterii nescio cuius Constantinopolitani', Loenertz, R.-J., *AFFP* 30 (1960), pp. 163–195
- Kabasilas, Nicholas, *Commentary on the Eucharist*: Greek text: PG 150, cols. 367–491; English translation: Hussey, J. & McNulty, P. (trans.), *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy: by Nicholas Cabasilas* (S.P.C.K., London, 1960)
- , *The Life in Christ*: Greek text: PG 150, cols. 491–726; English translation: *On the Life in Christ: Nicholas Cabasilas. Translated from the Greek by Carmino J. deCatanzaro* (St Vladimir's Seminary Press, New York, 1974)
- Kabasilas, Nil, *On the Holy Spirit*: In three parts: Candal, E., *Nilus Cabasilas et*

- theologia* S. *Thomae De Processione Spiritus Sancti. Novum e Vaticanis codicibus subsidium ad historiam theologiae byzantinae saeculi XIV plenius elucidandam* (SeT 116, Vatican City, 1945), pp. 188–385; Kislak, P. -T., *Nil Cabasilas et son traité sur le Saint-Esprit, Introduction, édition critique, traduction et notes* (thèse de doctorat, Université de Strasbourg-II, Strasbourg, 1998); and Kislak, P.T., *Nil Cabasilas: Sur le Saint-Esprit* (Les Éditions du CERF, Paris, 2001)
- Kantakuzenos, Emperor John VI, *History*: Greek edition: Schopen, J. (ed.), *Ioannis Cantacuzeni Eximperatoris Historiarum Liber IV* (CSHB XX, Bonn, 1832); German translation: Fatouras, G. & Krischer, T. (eds. & trans.), *Johannes Kantakuzenos, Geschichte, übersetzt und erläutert von Georgios Fatouros und Tilman Krischer* (Hiersemann, Stuttgart, 1982–) (Translation to date covers Books I and II); partial English translation: Miller, T.S. (ed. & trans.), *The History of John Cantacuzenos (Book IV): Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1975) (Translation covers only part of Book IV)
- , 'Lettre inédite de Jean Cantacuzène relative à la controverse Palamite', Darrouzès, J., *REB* 18 (1959), pp. 7–27
- , *Refutationes duae Prochori Cydoni et Disputatio cum Paulo Patriarcha Latino epistulis septem tradita Iohannis Cantacuzeni*, Voordeckers, E. & Tinnfeld, F. eds., (Brepols, Turnhout, 1987)
- (Pseudo-) Kodinos, *Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité des Offices, Introduction, texte et traduction*, Verpeaux, J. (Éditions du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, Paris, 1976)
- Kokkinos, Philotheos, *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινοπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου Δογματικά Ἔργα* (Kamakias, D.V. (ed.), Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν, Thessalonica, 1983)
- , *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινοπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου Ἀγιολόγια Ἔργα*, Tsames, D.G. (ed.), (Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν, Thessalonica, 1985)
- Kydonos, Demetrius, *Letters*: Greek edition in Loenertz, R.-J., *Demetrius Cydonos, Correspondance, I* (SeT 186, Vatican City, 1956) and *Demetrius Cydonos, Correspondance, II* (SeT 208, Vatican City, 1960); German translation: *Demetrius Kydonos, Briefe, übersetzt und erläutert von Franz Tinnfeld* (5 Vols, Hiersemann, Stuttgart, 1981–2003)
- , *Monody on the Dead of Thessalonica*: Greek edition: PG 109, 640–652; English translation: Barker, J.W., 'The monody of Demetrius Kydonos on the Zealot rising of 1345 in Thessaloniki', in *Essays in Memory of Basil Laourdas* (Thessalonica, 1975), pp. 285–300
- , *First Oration to John Kantakuzenos*: Greek edition in Loenertz, R.-J., *Demetrius Cydonos, Correspondance, I* (SeT 186, Vatican City, 1956), pp. 1–10
- , *Second Oration to John Kantakuzenos*: Greek edition: Cammelli, G., 'Oratio ad Iohannem Cantacuzenum altera', *BNJ* 4 (1923), pp. 77–83
- , *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum*: Greek edition: PG 154, 961–1008
- , *Oratio de non reddenda Callipoli*: Greek edition: PG 154, 1009–1036
- , *Oratio ad Iohannem Palaeologum*: Greek edition in Loenertz, R.-J., *Demetrius Cydonos, Correspondance, I* (SeT 186, Vatican City, 1956), pp. 10–23
- , *Apologia I*: Greek edition in Mercati, G., *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV* (SeT 56, 1931), pp. 359–403; German

- translation: Beck, H.-G., 'Die Apologia des Demetrius Kydones', *Ostkirchliche Studien* 1 (1952), pp. 208–225, pp. 264–282; English translation in Likoudis, J., *Ending the Byzantine Greek Schism* (New Rochelle, NY, 1992)
- , *Apologia II*: Greek edition in Mercati, G., *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV* (SeT 56, 1931), pp. 403–425
- , *Apologia III*: Greek edition in Mercati, G., *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV* (SeT 56, 1931), pp. 425–435
- , *Apologia IV*: Greek edition in Mercati, G., *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV* (SeT 56, 1931), pp. 313–338
- , *De contemnenda morte*: Greek edition: Deckelmann, H., *Demetrii Cydonii De Contemnenda Morte: oratio* (Teubner, Lipsiae, 1901); German translation: Blum, W., *Furcht vor dem Tod. Die Schrift des Demetrius Kydones 'Über die Verachtung des Todes'* (Aschendorff, Münster, 1973)
- , *De personarum proprietatibus in Trinitate*: Greek edition: in Candal, E., 'Demetrio Cidone y el problema trinitario palamitico', *OCP* 28 (1962), pp. 75–120
- , *Four Prooimia*: Greek edition with German translation and commentary: Tinnefeld, F., 'Vier Prooimien zu Kaiserurkunden, verfaßt von Demetrios Kydones', *Byzantinoslavica* 44 (1983), pp. 13–30, pp. 178–195
- Makhairas, Leontios, *Leontios Makhairas: Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled 'Chronicle'*, Dawkins, R.M. (ed.) (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1932)
- Mezières, Philippe de, *Life of Peter Thomas*: Smet, J. (ed.), *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mezières* (Institutum Carmelitanum, Rome, 1954) (= Latin text)
- Palaiologos, Emperor Manuel II, *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus: text, translation and notes*, Dennis, G.T. (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C. 1977)
- , *Manuel II Palaiologus, Dialog mit einem 'Perser'*, Trapp, E. (Wiener byzantinische Studien II, Vienna, 1966)
- Riccoldo Pennini da Monte Croce, *Contra legem Saracenorum*: Greek and Latin: PG 154, 1035–1170 (Latin version = retranslation from the Greek)
- Planudes, Maximos, Translation of Boethius' *The Consolation of Philosophy* (see above): Bétant, E.A. (ed.), *De la Consolation de la Philosophie, traduction grecque de Maxime Planudes, publiée pour la première fois dans son entiere* (Geneva, 1871)

Primary Texts: Anonymous

- Darrouzès, J., 'Conference sur la primauté du Pape a Constantinople en 1357', *REB* 19 (1961), pp. 76–109
- Laurent, V., 'Action de grâces pour la victoire navale remportée sur les turcs à Adramyttin au cours de l'automne 1334', in Tomodakes, N.V. (ed.), *Εἰς μνήμην Κ. Ἀμάντου* (Athens, 1960), pp. 25–41
- Meyendorff, J., 'Projets de concile oecuménique en 1367: un dialogue inédit entre Jean Cantacuzène et le légat Paul', *DOP* 14 (1960), pp. 147–177

Secondary Material

- Ahrweiler, H., *Byzance et la mer. La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VIIe–XVe siècles* (Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1966)
- Angelov, D.G., 'Byzantine imperial panegyric as advice literature (1204–c. 1350)', in E. Jeffreys (ed.), *Rhetoric in Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies (2001)* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2003), pp. 55–73
- Atiya, A.S., *The crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Methuen, London, 1938)
- Barker, J.W., 'Late Byzantine Thessalonike: A Second City's Challenges and Responses', *DOP* 57 (2003), pp. 5–33
- Beck, H., 'Der Kampf um den thomistischen Theologiebegriff in Byzanz', *Divus Thomas* 13 (1935), pp. 1–22
- Beck, H.-G., 'Der byzantinische Ministerpräsident', *BZ* 48 (1955), pp. 309–338
- , *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Beck, Munich, 1959)
- Beumer, J., 'Zwischen Patristik und Scholastik. Gedanken zum Wesen der Theologie an Hand des Liber de fide ad Petrum des hl. Fulgentius von Ruspe', *Gregorianum* 23 (1942), pp. 326–347
- Blumenkranz, B., 'La survie médiévale de saint Augustin à travers ses apocryphes', in *Augustinus Magister. Actes du congrès international augustiniens, 21–24 septembre, 1954: vol. II, Communications, Études augustiniennes* (Paris, 1954), pp. 1005–1018
- Bosch, U.V., *Kaiser Andronikos III Palaiologos: Versuch einer Darstellung der byzantinischen Gesellschaft in den Jahren 1321–1341* (A.M. Hakkert, Amsterdam, 1965)
- Brown, P., *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (Faber, London, 1967)
- Chrysostomides, J., 'John V Palaeologus in Venice (1370–1371) and the Chronicle of Caroldo: a reinterpretation', *OCP* 31 (1965), pp. 76–84
- Constantinides, C.N., *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204–ca. 1310)* (Cyprus Research Centre, Nicosia, 1982)
- Cox, E.L., *The Green Count of Savoy: Amadeo VI and Transalpine Savoy in the fourteenth century* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1967)
- Dain, A., 'A propos de l'étude des poètes anciens à Byzance', in *Studi in onore di Ugo Enrico Paoli* (F. Le Monnier, Florence, 1956)
- Delahaye, H., 'S. Grégoire le Grand dans l'hagiographie grecque', *AB* 23 (1904), pp. 449–454
- Dvornik, F., *The Photian schism: history and legend* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1948)
- Eszer, A.K., *Das abenteuerliche Leben des Johannes Laskaris Kalopheros: Forschungen zur Geschichte der ost-westlichen Beziehungen im 14. Jahrhundert* (O. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1969)
- Fedalto, G., *Simone Atumano: Monaco di Studio, Archivescovo latino di Tebe, Secolo XIV* (Paideia, Brescia, 1968)
- Fine, J.V.A., *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1987)
- Follieri, E., 'Santi occidentali nell'innographia Bizantina', in *Atti del convegno inter-*

- , *nationale sul tema L'oriente cristiano nella storia della civiltà, Roma, 31 marzo-3 aprile 1963, Firenze, 4 aprile 1963* (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, 1964), pp. 251-272
- Fryde, E., *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance (1261-c. 1360)* (Brill, Leiden-Boston-Köln, 2000)
- Geanakoplos, D.J., 'Byzantium and the Crusades, 1251-1354' and 'Byzantium and the Crusades, 1354-1453', in Hazard, H.W. (ed.), *A History of the Crusades, Volume III: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1975), pp. 27-103
- Georgiades Arnakis, G., 'Gregory Palamas among the Turks and documents of his captivity as historical sources', *Speculum* 26 (1951), pp. 104-116
- Gill, J., 'John Beccus, Patriarch of Constantinople', *Byzantina*, 7 (1975), pp. 253-266
- , *Byzantium and the Papacy, 1198-1400* (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, NJ, 1979)
- , *Collected Studies: Church Union: Rome and Byzantium 1204-1453* (Variorum, London, 1979)
- , 'John V Palaeologus at the court of Louis I of Hungary (1366)', in Gill, *Collected Studies*, pp. 32-38
- , 'Eleven Emperors of Byzantium seek Union with the Church of Rome', in Gill, *Collected Studies*, pp. 72-84
- Grillmeier, A., 'Fulgentius von Ruspe, De Fide ad Petrum und die Summa Sententiarum: Eine Studie zum Werden der fröhscholastischer Systematik', *Scholastik* 34 (1959), pp. 526-565
- , 'Patristische Vorbilder fröhscholastischer Systematik. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Augustinismus', *Studia Patristica* 81 (1962), pp. 390-408
- Halecki, O., *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome. Vingt ans de travail pour l'union des églises et pour la défense de l'empire d'Orient, 1355-1375* (Variorum reprint, London, 1972 (= reprint of 1930 edition))
- Hausherr, I., 'L'Hésychasme, Étude de spiritualité', *OCP* 22 (1956), pp. 5-40, pp. 247-285
- Jorga, N., *Philippe de Mezières, 1327-1405, et la croisade au XIVe siècle* (Émile Bouillon, Paris, 1896)
- Kaeppli, Th., 'Deux nouveaux ouvrages de Fr. Philippe Incontri de Péra, OP', *AFFP* 23 (1953), pp. 163-183
- Kazhdan, A.P., 'L'histoire de Cantacuzène en tant qu'œuvre littéraire', *Byz* 50 (1980), pp. 279-335
- Kelly, J.N.D., *Early Christian Doctrines*, 5th edition (Rev.) (A.C. Black, London, 1977)
- Kianka, F., 'The Apology of Demetrius Cydones: A fourteenth century autobiographical source', *Byzantine Studies* 7 (1980), pp. 57-71
- , *Demetrius Cydones (c. 1324-c. 1397): Intellectual and Diplomatic Relations between Byzantium and the West in the Fourteenth Century* (D. Phil. Thesis, Fordham, 1981)
- , 'Demetrius Cydones and Thomas Aquinas', *Byz.* 52 (1982), pp. 264-286
- , 'The Letters of Demetrios Kydones to Empress Helena Kantakouzena Palaiologina', *DOP* 46 (1992), pp. 155-164
- , 'Demetrius Kydones and Italy', *DOP* 49 (1995) (= Symposium on Byzantium and the Italians, 13th-15th centuries), pp. 99-110

- Kolbaba, T.M., *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins* (University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois, 2000)
- , 'Byzantine Perceptions of Latin Religious 'Errors': Themes and Changes from 850 to 1350', in Laiou, A.E. & Mottahedeh, R.P. (eds.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C., 2001), pp. 117-143
- Kurtz, E., 'Zur zweiten Rede des Demetrios Kydones auf den Kaiser Joh. Kantakouzenos', *BNJ* 5 (1926/7), p. 58
- Laiou, A.E., 'Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks: the background to the anti-Turkish League of 1332-1334', *Speculum* 45 (1970), pp. 374-392
- , *Constantinople and the Latins. The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282-1328* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1972)
- Laurent, V., 'L'assaut avorté de la Horde d'Or contre l'empire byzantin', *REB* 18 (1960), pp. 145-162
- Lazzarini, V., 'La battaglia di Porto Longo', in *Nuovo archivio Veneto*, t. VIII, pt. 1 (1894)
- Lemerle, P., *L'Emirat d'Aydin, Byzance et L'Occident: recherches sur 'La Geste d'Umur Pacha'* (Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1957)
- Likoudis, J., *Ending the Byzantine Greek Schism* (New Rochelle, NY, 1992)
- Lilienfeld, F. v., 'Der athonitische Hesychasmus des 14. und 15. im Lichte der zeitgenössischen russischen Quellen', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 6 (1958), pp. 436-448
- Loenertz, R.-J., *La Société des Frères Pérégrinants. Étude sur l'Orient dominicain, I* (Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum, Dissertationes Historicae 7, Rome, 1937)
- , *Les recueils de lettres de Démétrius Cydonès*, SeT 131 (Vatican City, 1947)
- , 'Fr. Philippe de Bindo Incontri O.P. du convent de Péra, Inquisiteur en Orient', *AFFM* 18 (1948), pp. 265-280
- , 'Notes d'histoire et de chronologie Byzantines', *REB* 17 (1955), pp. 158-167
- , 'Note sur la correspondance de Barlaam, évêque de Gerace, avec ses amis de Grèce', *OCP* 23 (1957), pp. 201 f.
- , 'Jean V Paléologue à Venise (1370-1371)', *REB* 16 (1958), pp. 217-232
- , 'Le chancelier imperial à Byzance au XIV<sup>e</sup> et au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *OCP* 26 (1960), pp. 275-300
- , 'Démétrius Cydonès, 1: De la naissance à l'année 1373', *OCP* 36 (1970), pp. 47-72
- Lorenz, R., 'Der Augustinismus Prospers von Aquitanien', *ZKG* 73 (1962), pp. 217-252
- Luttrell, A., 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes, 1306-1421', in Hazard, H.W. (ed.), *A History of the Crusades, Volume III: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1975), pp. 278-313
- Mergiali, S., *L'enseignement et les lettrés pendant l'époque des Palaeologues (1261-1453)* ('Εταιρεία τῶν Φίλων τοῦ Λαοῦ, Athens, 1996)
- Merigoux, J.M., 'Un précurseur du dialogue islamo-chrétien: Frère Ricoldo (1243-1320)', *Revue Thomiste* 73 (1973), pp. 609-621
- Meyendorff, J., 'Barlaam de Calabre. Un mauvais théologien de l'unité au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle',

- in *L'église et les églises: neuf siècles de douloureuse separation entre l'Orient et l'Occident; études et travaux sur l'unité chrétienne offerts à Dom Lambert Beauduin* (Éditions de Chevetogne, Paris, 1954), pp. 47–64
- , *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1959)
- , 'Alexis and Roman: a study in Byzantino-Russian Relations (1352–1354)', *BS* 28 (1967), pp. 278–288
- , 'Spiritual Trends in Byzantium in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries', in Underwood, P.A. (ed.), *The Kariye Dyami, Vol. IV* (Routledge, New York, 1975), pp. 95–106
- , *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (Revised Second Edition, Fordham University Press, New York, 1979)
- , 'Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century: Spiritual and Intellectual Legacy', *DOP* 42 (1988), pp. 156–165
- , *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: A Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century* (St Vladimir's Seminary Press, New York, 1989) (= reprint of edition by Cambridge University Press, 1981)
- , *A Study of Gregory Palamas* (St Vladimir's Seminary Press, New York, 1998) (= reprint of Second Edition (1974) of G. Lawrence's 1964 translation of Meyendorff, 1959)
- Moore, Ph.S., *The Works of Peter of Poitiers, Master of Theology and Chancellor of Paris (1193–1205)* (University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame (Ind.), 1936)
- Moutsopoulos, E., 'Influences aristotéliennes dans les traductions des œuvres de saint Thomas par Démétrius Cydonès (XIVe siècle)' = Introduction (pp. 7–10) to Sideri, S. and Photopoulou P. (eds.), *Δημητρίου Κυδώνη: Θώμα Ἀκινάτου Σοῦμμα Θεολογική, ἐξελληνισθεῖσα, II, 16* (Athens, 1979)
- Nicol, D.M., 'Byzantine requests for an oecumenical council in the fourteenth century', *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum*, 1 (1969), pp. 69–95
- , 'Thessalonica as a Cultural Centre in the Fourteenth Century', in idem, *Studies in Late Byzantine History and Prosopography* (Variorum, London, 1986)
- , *The Last Centuries of Byzantium* (Second Edition, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993)
- , *The Reluctant Emperor. A Biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine Emperor and Monk, c. 1295–1383* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996)
- Obolensky, D., *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500–1453* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1971)
- Papadakis, A. (in collaboration with J. Meyendorff), *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy* (St Vladimir's Seminary Press, NY, 1994)
- Papadopoulou, S.G., *Ἑλληνικὰ μεταφράσεις Θωμιστικῶν ἔργων* (Φιλεκαπαιδευτική Ἐταιρεία, Athens, 1967)
- Pertusi, A., 'La fortuna di Boezio a Bisanzio', in *Mélanges Henri Grégoire, vol. 3: Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* (Brussels, 1951), pp. 301–322
- Pitcher, D.E., *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire: from the earliest times to the end of the sixteenth century* (Brill, Leiden, 1972)
- Podskalsky, G., *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz: der Streit um die theologische Methodik in der spätbyzantinische Geistesgeschichte (14.–15. Jahrhundert), seine systematische Grundlagen und seine historische Entwicklung* (Beck, Munich, 1977)

- Rackl, M., 'Die griechische Übersetzung der Summa theologiae des hl. Thomas von Aquin', *BZ* 24 (1923/4), pp. 48–60
- , 'Die griechischen Augustinerübersetzungen', in *Miscellanea Fr. Ehrle, SeT* 37 (1924), pp. 1–38
- Savvides, A.G.C., *Byzantium in the Near East: its relations with the Seljuk sultanate of Rum in Asia Minor, the Armenians of Cilicia and the Mongols, AD c. 1192–1237* (Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν, Thessalonica, 1981)
- Setton, K.M., 'The Catalans in Greece, 1380–1380', in Hazard, H.W., (ed.), *A History of the Crusades, Volume III: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1975), pp. 167–224
- Ševčenko, I., 'The Decline of Byzantium seen through the eyes of its intellectuals', *DOP* 15 (1961), pp. 169–186
- , 'Society and Intellectual Life in the 14th Century', in idem, *Collected Studies: Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium* (Variorum, London, 1981)
- , 'The Palaeologan Renaissance', in Treadgold, W., (ed.), *Renaissances Before the Renaissance. Cultural revivals of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1984), pp. 144–171
- Soulis, G.C., *The Serbs and Byzantium during the Reign of Tsar Stephen Dušan (1331–1355) and his Successors* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C., 1984)
- Southern, R.W., *Saint Anselm: A portrait in a landscape* (Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- Stiernon, D., *Constantinople IV*, in the series *Histoire des conciles oecuméniques* (Éditions de l'Orante, Paris, 1967)
- Tinnefeld, F., 'Georgios Philosophos. Ein Korrespondent und Freund des Demetrios Kydones', *OCP* 38 (1972), pp. 141–171
- , 'Das Niveau der abendländischen Wissenschaft aus der Sicht gebildeter Byzantiner im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert', *BF* 6 (1979), pp. 241–280
- , 'Freundschaft und ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ. Die Korrespondenz des Demetrios Kydones mit Rhadenos (1375–1387/8)', *Byz.* 55 (1985), pp. 210–244
- , 'Idealizing Self-centred Power Politics in the Memoirs of John VI Kantakouzenos', in Langdon, J.S., Reinart, S.W., Allen, J.S., Ioannides, C.P. (eds.), *ΤΟ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΝ. Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr., Vol. I: Hellenic Antiquity and Byzantium* (New Rochelle/NY 1993), pp. 397–415
- , 'Zur Entstehung von Briefsammlungen in der Palaiologenzeit', in C. Scholz, G. Makris (eds.), *Polupleuros nous: Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag* (K.G. Saur, Munich, 2000), pp. 365–381
- , 'Intellectuals in Late Byzantine Thessalonike', *DOP* 57 (2003), pp. 153–172
- Topping, P., 'The Morea, 1311–1364' and 'The Morea, 1364–1460', in Hazard, H.W. (ed.), *A History of the Crusades, Volume III: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1975), pp. 104–166
- Treadgold, W., (ed.), *Renaissances Before the Renaissance. Cultural revivals of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1984)
- Underwood, P.A. (ed.), *The Kariye Dyami, Vol. IV* (Routledge, New York, 1975)
- Verpeaux, J., 'Contribution à l'étude de l'administration byzantine: ὁ μεσάζων', *Byzantinoslavica* 16 (1955), pp. 270–296

- Vryonis, S., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1971)
- Weisheipl, J.A., *Friar Thomas D'Aquino: his life, thought and works* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1975)
- Wilson, N., *Scholars of Byzantium* (Revised Edition, Duckworth, London, 1996)

## GENERAL INDEX

- Abydos: 59 (n.54)
- Adramyttion: 178 (n.34, n.39)
- Aeschylus: 9
- Akakios: 141
- Akindynos, Gregory: 166 (n.162), 224 f., 228, 230
- Alexander of Aphrodisias: 8
- Alexandria (see also 'Crusade of Alexandria'): 74, 96, 110, 182 (n.56), 242, 262 (n.172)
- Alexis, metropolitan of Kiev: 242, 248 f.
- Amadeo VI, Count of Savoy: 43, 68, 71, 76-79, 157, 183, 201, 203, 209, 217 f., 262 (n.172)
- Ambrose: 96 f.
- Ancona: 209
- Andronikos II Palaiologos (emperor 1282-1328): 169, 172, 174 f., 185, 216, 241
- Andronikos III Palaiologos (emperor 1328-1341): 50-54, 58, 172, 173 (n.10), 174-176, 178, 180, 185, 209, 229
- Andronikos IV Palaiologos (emperor 1376-1379): 66 (n.93), 169 (n.4), 230
- Angelos, Manuel: 203 (n.144)
- Anne of Savoy: 47, 173 (n.10), 174, 178 (n.37), 209
- Anselm of Canterbury: 26, 31, 36
- Antalya: 182 (n.56)
- Antioch: 110, 227, 242
- Antioch on the Maeander: 73 (n.130)
- Apologia di Procoro Cydonio*: 44 (n.20), 48
- Aquinas: 9 (n.30), 11 f., 16-20, 30 f., 35-37, 85 (n.15), 90, 121, 125, 140, 142, 150, 187, 189
- Aristophanes: 9
- Aristotle: 8 f., 12, 16 (n.75), 19, 25 (n.125), 30 f., 91, 95
- Arsenius of Tyre (patriarch of Antioch): 227
- Asanes, Constantine: 32 (n.162), 141, 155, 159, 166
- Astras, George Synadenos: 137 (n.25), 162 f., 166
- Athanasius of Alexandria: 11, 96 f.
- Athanasius, monk in Constantinople in 1369: 211 (n.159)
- Athanasius I, patriarch of Constantinople: 224, 240-242.
- Athos: 10, 23, 67, 73, 163, 166, 185, 225, 243, 251 f., 255
- Atumanos, Simon: 137, 139, 154, 157-159, 195-197, 202 f.
- Augustine: 16, 18-24, 29-33, 35 f., 96 f., 101 f., 141, 152 (n.92)
- Auxentios (Holy Mountain): 224
- Averroes: 16 (n.75)
- Avignon: 173 (n.10), 183 (n.62), 195, 205
- Aydin, emirate: 58, 178 (n.37)
- Azymes*: 26
- Aymon of Savoy: 173 (n.10)
- 'Barbarians' / *βαρβαροι*: 57, 59, 62 f., 65 f., 68 f., 72-75, 99, 106, 116, 156 f., 159, 162, 218
- Bari, council of: 26 (n.129)
- Barlaam of Calabria: 7, 83 (n.3, n.4), 90 (n.34), 102 (n.87), 110 (n.163), 173 (n.10), 174-177, 180, 186 (n.71), 205 f., 221 f., 228, 230
- Bartholomew, papal representative: 173 (n.12)
- Basil of Caesarea: 9, 11, 96 f.
- 'Beards': 127, 163 f.
- Bekkios, John: 13

- Benedict XII, pope: 173 (n.10), 176  
 Benedict of Como: 174  
 Bernard Gui: 17 (n.76), 19, 30, 36 (n.184)  
 Bethlehem: 104  
 Black Sea: 70, 157 (n.118)  
 Blastares, Matthew: 7, 10  
 Boethius: 15 (n.72, n.73), 24 f., 30 f., 35  
 Boucheiras, Isidore (patriarch of Constantinople, 1347–1350): 6, 10 f., 137, 139, 164, 185, 225, 229, 240, 252, 258 (n.160)  
 Buda: 183, 201  
 Bulgaria: 13, 43, 57, 59 (n.50), 60, 63–68, 70 f., 74 f., 156 f., 183 (n.62), 202, 242 f., 245–248, 250, 252, 254, 256 f., 262 (n.172)  
 Byzantine civil wars: 43, 51, 54 f., 58, 65, 149, 173, 176, 206 f., 213 f., 228–232, 247, 250  
 Byzantine education: 8 ff.  
 Byzantines: 10, 43, 53, 58–66, 68 f., 72–80, 116, 154, 177, 182 f., 191, 205, 208 f., 213, 217 f., 220, 244, 265 f.  
 Byzantium: 5, 43, 57 f., 60–62, 65, 70, 75, 90, 131, 157, 169–174, 177 f., 183, 191, 195, 197, 205, 208, 213, 215 f., 218 f., 222 f., 231, 240, 243, 249 f., 252 f., 256 f., 261 f., 264, 266  
 Caesarius of Arles: 22 (n.106)  
 Carthage: 74  
 Catalans: 208 f.  
 Caucasus: 75  
 Charles of Anjou: 169, 174 f.  
 Chersonese: 60  
 Chortasmenos, John: 135 (n.17), 136  
*Chronicle of Manasses*: 245  
 Chrysostom, John: 11 f., 37, 96 f.  
 Clement VI, pope: 173 f., 176, 179 f.  
 Cluny, reform movement: 254 (n.148)  
 Constantine I (emperor): 72  
 Constantinople: 7, 17 (n.76), 21 (n.100), 24, 36 (n.182), 43 f., 47, 54, 58, 60 f., 65, 70, 72, 80, 83, 103 f., 106–110, 113, 118, 138, 145, 163 (n.151), 169 f., 172 (n.9), 173–175, 178 (n.39), 179, 181–183, 190, 194–197, 203 (n.144), 206, 208–210, 213, 222, 229, 232 f., 235 f., 240–250, 254–258, 262 (n.172), 267  
 Conti, William: 181  
 Council of 869/70: 27, 188 f.  
 Council of 1341: 222, 226, 228 f.  
 Council of 1347: 222, 226, 229  
 Council of 1351: 222, 226, 229  
 Council of Toledo: 27  
 Councils (see also 'Ecumenical Councils'): 11, 32, 85–88, 90, 96, 99, 102 f., 111 f., 114, 176 f., 179, 180 (n.43), 187 f., 201, 205, 260–262  
 Creeds: 20 (n.94), 27, 31  
 Crusade of Alexandria: 74, 182 (n.56)  
 Curia: 179, 196  
 Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia: 248 f., 251, 255  
 Cyprus: 178 (n.34), 180, 182 f., 192–195, 201, 209, 217, 227  
 Cyril of Alexandria: 11, 96 f.  
 Cyrus: 53  
 Dandolo, Stephen: 176  
 Dardanelles: 59, 182  
   see also 'Hellespont'  
 David (biblical figure): 50  
 Demosthenes: 8 f., 12  
 Didymoteichos: 47, 155  
 Dionysius: see 'Pseudo-Dionysius'  
 Dominicans: 14, 17 (n.76), 26 (n.133), 27, 35 f., 160 (n.137), 172 (n.9), 186  
*Donation of Constantine*: 28, 32, 104 f.  
 Early Palaiologan Renaissance: 5–10, 20  
 'Ecumenical' Councils: 85 (n.16), 176 f., 226, 261, 262 (n.172)  
*epi tou kanikleiou*: 203 (n.144)  
 Epirus: 65  
 Euclid: 8, 11  
 Euripides: 9  
 Euthymius of Trnovo: 251, 254 f.

- filioque*: 18 (n.86, n.87), 20 (n.97), 23 (n.108), 24 (n.115), 26 (n.129, 132), 28, 31–33, 45 f., 96, 103, 118–124, 128, 161, 199, 227 (n.26)  
 Florence, council of: 87 (n.26), 92 (n.41)  
 France: 178 (n.34)  
 Franks: 193, 209, 218  
 Fulgentius of Ruspe: 22 f.  
 Galaktion, monk: 137  
 Galata: 70, 209  
 Galicia: 247  
 Gallipoli: 43 f., 59–61, 79 f., 155, 182, 207  
 Gattilusio, Francesco: 203 (n.144)  
*Genealogia Christi ab Adam* (translated by Demetrius Kydones): 27, 34  
 Genoa: 76, 178, 180, 183  
 Genoese: 70, 76, 146, 182, 208, 263  
 George the Philosopher: 137, 139 f., 154, 158, 166, 190 (n.89), 192–194  
 Golden Horde: 69 f. (n.114)  
 Golden Horn: 70, 208  
 Gorigos: 182 (n.56)  
 Greeks: 18 (n.87), 36, 59, 67, 72, 73 (n.134), 100, 103, 106–108, 110, 115, 118 f., 121–123, 158, 170 f., 176, 182, 186, 193, 206 f., 209–213, 215, 218, 245  
 Gregoras, Nikephoras: 83 (n.1), 145, 166, 178 (n.35), 206, 222 (n.4), 227, 229  
 Gregory the Great: 26, 31, 33, 96 f.  
 Gregory of Nazianzus: 9, 11, 96 f.  
 Gregory of Nyssa: 11, 97  
 Gregory of Sinai: 10, 224, 230 (n.38), 251 f., 254 f., 257 f.  
 Guillaume Bernard de Gailhac: 17 (n.76)  
 Halich, Galicia: 247  
 Halil, son of Orhan: 155  
 Harmenopoulos, Constantine: 7, 10  
 Hellespont: 58 f., 73  
 Hermogenes: 8  
 Herodotus: 9, 12  
 Hervaeus Natalis: 28, 30 (n.151)  
 Hesychasm: 29 f. (n.149), 83, 90, 103, 127, 162–164, 192, 221–226, 231 f., 240, 250–258, 261  
 'Hesychast' controversy: 10, 221 f., 224, 252 f.  
 'hesychast international': 240, 250–253, 256–258  
 Hesiod: 8 f.  
 Hilary of Poitiers: 27, 31, 33, 96 f.  
 Holobolos, Manuel: 15 (n.73), 24 f.  
 Holy Mountain: 73 (see also 'Athos')  
 Homer: 8 f.  
 Hospitallers: 73 (n.133, n.134), 180–182  
 Hungary: 43, 47, 56 (n.42), 57, 66–69, 79, 156, 158, 183, 203, 206, 217, 244  
 Hugh of St Victor: 35  
 Imbros: 73  
 Innocent VI, pope: 173, 179–182, 188 f.  
 Isaiah, Serbian monk: 255  
 Isokrates: 9  
 Jerome: 28, 96 f.  
 Jerusalem: 23 (n.108), 104, 242, 262 (n.172)  
 Joasaph, monk (*not* John VI Kantakuzenos): 137  
 Joasaph, monk: 162  
   see also 'John VI Kantakuzenos'  
 John Alexander, Bulgarian Tsar: 245 f., 252  
 John V Palaiologos (emperor 1341–1391): 28, 43 f., 46 f., 50, 52, 54–56, 66, 68, 77, 79, 128, 137, 139, 146, 150–155, 157 f., 166 (n.163), 169 f., 172, 174, 176 f., 179–184, 187–189, 191 f., 194–197, 200–205, 209, 211, 215–219, 230–232, 204 (n.66), 237–239, 244, 246, 249, 260, 262 f.  
 John VI Kantakuzenos (emperor 1347–1354): 6–8, 13, 26, 34, 43, 50–56, 58, 67, 83 (n.1), 137 f., 140,

- John VI Kantakuzenos (*continued*):  
142 f., 145, 149–151, 155–157,  
159 f., 162–166, 168, 173 f., 176–  
178, 180, 184–189, 198 (n.120), 203  
(n.144), 207–209, 211, 215 f., 225,  
227–230, 247, 259 f., 263, 267
- John VII Palaiologos: 169 (n.4)
- John XXII (pope 1316–1334): 172, 174  
(n.18)
- John Asen: 66 (n.93)
- John Chrysostom: see Chrysostom,  
John
- John Damascene: 35, 100
- John the Deacon: 33 (n.170)
- John de Fontibus: 32 (n.165), 35  
(n.179)
- John Kalekas: see 'Kalekas, John'
- John the Prefect: 203 (n.144)
- Joseph the Philosopher: 10
- Kabasilas, Nicholas Chamaëtos: 7, 33 f.  
(n.172), 137, 141, 150 (n.83), 165 f.,  
225
- Kabasilas, Nil: 6 f., 10 f., 32, 45, 47 f., 83  
(n.3), 90 (n.34), 121, 137, 141–143,  
161, 164, 166, 185, 225
- Kalekas, John (patriarch of Con-  
stantinople, 1334–1347): 228–231,  
233 f., 236, 247
- Kalekas, Manuel: 15 (n.72), 25, 27  
(n.141), 31 (n.158), 135 (n.14), 141
- Kallistos I (patriarch of Constantino-  
ple, 1353–1354, 1364–1376): 10,  
146, 181, 224 (n.10), 225 (n.12),  
226, 230–232, 236 f., 239, 242, 244,  
246, 248, 250, 252, 254, 256–263,  
267
- Kalopheros, John Laskaris: 137, 158,  
166, 195 (n.106), 203 (n.144)
- Kalopheros, Maximos: 137, 166, 203  
(n.144)
- Kalothetos, Leo: 137 (n.25)
- Kantakuzena, Helena (empress): 30  
(n.154), 32, 35 (n.181), 137, 140 f.,  
144, 152 f., 165, 189
- Kantakuzenos, John: see John VI
- Kantakuzenos, Manuel: 137, 149, 156
- Kantakuzenos, Matthew: 166 (n.163),  
215 f., 230, 234 (n.66)
- Kassandrenos, Alexios: 150, 163 f.
- katholikos krites*: 137 (n.25)
- Kiev: 242, 246–248, 250, 255
- Kilifarevo, monastic centre: 251–253
- Kokkinos, Philotheos (patriarch of  
Constantinople, 1350–1353, 1355–  
1363): 6, 18 (n.84), 46, 67, 83 (n.1),  
102, 118, 126 f., 135, 137, 144, 147,  
162 f., 167 f., 185, 223 (n.7), 224  
(n.9), 225 f., 230–239, 242, 246,  
248–250, 252, 255, 257–263, 267
- Kydones, anonymous anti-Arsenite  
archbishop of Thessalonica: 185
- Kydones, anonymous *ἄρχων τοῦ*  
*Εὐαγγελίου*: 185
- Kydones, Demetrius  
and Helena Kantakuzena: 30  
(n.154), 32, 137, 140, 144, 152 f.,  
165  
and John V Palaiologos: 28, 43 f.,  
46 f., 50, 54–56, 66, 68, 77–79,  
128, 137, 139, 150–155, 157 f.,  
191–205  
and John VI Kantakuzenos: 13–15,  
26, 34, 42 f., 50–56, 137 f., 140,  
142 f., 149–151, 155, 159 f., 162,  
164–169, 216  
and Manuel II Palaiologos: 12, 50,  
137 f., 141, 152 f., 155, 165  
and Nil Kabasilas: 6 f., 10, 32, 44 f.,  
47 f., 121, 141–143, 161, 164,  
166, 185  
and Palamas / Palamism: 45 f., 67,  
83, 103, 117, 124–128, 137, 143,  
148, 161–168  
and Philotheos Kokkinos: 46, 102,  
118, 126 f., 135, 137, 144, 147,  
162 f., 167 f., 185, 223 (n.7)  
and Planudes' translation of  
Augustine's *De Trinitate*: 20  
and relations with the west: 57,  
63 f., 70–81, 116, 118, 120, 157–  
161, Chapter 5 *passim*  
anti-Islamic polemics: 26, 34, 36,  
70, 156

- attitude to Bulgarians and Serbs:  
63–67, 156 f.
- attitude to Hungarians and  
Mongols: 67–70, 156 f.
- attitude to Turks: 57–63, 153–156
- birth, early life and family: 5, 42,  
50 f., 184 f., 198
- contacts in Italy: 36 (n.185)
- defence of Prochoros: 46, 67, 102,  
125 f., 142 f., 144, 147, 162–168,  
232–239
- early religious influences: 9 ff., 185
- education: Chp. 1 *passim*
- interest in Augustine: 16, 29–33, 36
- journey to Rome, 1369: 28, 43, 45 f.,  
183 f., 191, 201–203, 232
- Latin studies and scholarship: 13–  
37, 101
- official status: 46 f., 149 f., 150, 157,  
159 f., 189, 198 f., 202, 203–205.
- on authority of western fathers:  
32 f., 36, 96–101, 113 f., 119 f.,  
123 f., 148, 160 f.
- on Byzantine loyalty: 151, 198–200,  
219, 236
- on councils: 11, 27, 32, 85–88, 96,  
99, 102, 111–114, 187 f., 201
- on *filioque*: 31–33, 45 f., 96, 117–  
124, 128, 161, 199
- on Greek church / theology: 90 f.,  
100, 105, 114–124, 160 f., 199
- on heresy: 100, 108, 116 f., 124, 128,  
231, 235
- on imperial succession: 52 f., 55,  
149–151
- on importance of freedom: 45, 59,  
63, 75, 78–80, 200 (n.137), 201,  
219
- on Latin methodology: 30 f., 90–92,  
94, 120 f., 160 f.
- on nature of religious authority: 11,  
32 f., 45 f., 48, 83–90, 92, 96–103,  
107, 113–115, 125 f., 160 f., 187,  
232 f., 235 f.
- on nature of the church: 32, 46,  
70, 84–88, 99 f., 102–118, 189  
(n.88), 190, 200, 205, 219
- on papal authority / primacy: 32,  
83 f., 91, 103–118, 123, 160 f.,  
187
- on status of human reason: 31, 85,  
92–96
- time on Lesbos: 45, 152 (n.93)
- Kydones, father of Demetrius: 5, 50 f.,  
69, 185 f.
- Kydones, Prochoros: 13, 15, 18–22,  
24 f., 28–30, 33, 46, 48, 67, 101 f.,  
126, 135, 137, 142–144, 147, 151,  
162 f., 165 f., 168, 225, 232, 234–239
- Kyprisssiotēs, John: 166
- Kyr Gabriel (archimandrite of Pan-  
tokrator monastery, Didymotei-  
chon): 47
- Lampsakos: 59, 73 (n.135), 182, 193 f.,  
196 f., 217
- Laskaris, Alexius: 203 (n.144)
- Latins: 36, 45, 57, 63 f., 67–72, 75 f., 78,  
83, 90 f., 94, 97, 100–104, 106, 108,  
116, 118, 119–122, 156–160, 170–  
172, 178, 183 f. (n.65), 186, 188,  
192, 199, 205 f., 209–213, 218, 262 f.
- Lavra, monastery on Athos: 67, 166,  
225, 238
- Lazar, Serbian Prince: 244
- Leo the Great: 96 f.
- Lesbos: 45, 152 (n.93)
- Libanios: 8 f., 11
- Libya: 74
- Lithuania: 246–250
- Louis of Hungary: 183, 203
- Lucian: 9
- Lyons: 28, 169
- Macedonia: 47, 65
- Magistros, Thomas: 6, 10
- Makhairas, Leontios: 193–195
- Mangana, monastery in Constantino-  
ple: 51 f., 54, 225
- Manikaites, Demetrius Angelos: 137  
(n.25), 162
- Manuel II Palaiologos: 12, 50 (n.8),  
137 f., 141, 144, 151–153, 155, 159,  
165

- Maria (daughter of John Asen): 65 (n.93)  
 Marica, battle of: 43  
 Maximus the Confessor: 100  
 Megara: 73 (n.134)  
*megas domestikos*: 137 (n.25), 203 (n.144)  
*megas heteriarches*: 203 (n.144)  
*megas primikerios*: 137 (n.25)  
*megas stratopedarches*: 137 (n.25)  
 Meleteniotes, Theodore: 162, 168  
*mesazon*: 149 f., 189, 203  
 Metochites, Manuel Raul: 164 f., 167  
 Mezières, Philippe de: 181 (n.50, n.51), 195 (n.105)  
 Michael VIII Palaiologos: 20, 169 f., 172, 176  
 Mitylene: 154 (n.106)  
 Moldavia: 255  
 Mongols: 57, 67, 69 f., 156 f.  
 Moscow: 247, 249  
 Mount Athos: see 'Athos'  
 Mount Auxentios: see 'Auxentios'
- Nazareth: 104  
 Neamțu, monastery in Moldavia: 255  
 Neilos, patriarch of Constantinople: 249  
 Nestorius: 25 (n.125), 233  
 Nicopolis, crusade of: 68  
 Nikodemos, hesychast: 255, 258 (n.160)  
 Nikephoros the Hesychast: 224
- Ochrid: 243  
*oikoumene*: 59, 241 f.  
 Oinaioites, Andronikos: 137 (n.25), 145, 158  
 Olgerd of Lithuania: 246–248  
 Orhan: 155  
 Orontes: 72  
 'Orthodox universalism': 231, 241–243, 245, 250  
 Ottomans: 57 f., 60 (n.58), 61, 155, 170, 172 (n.6), 182, 184, 213 f., 217, 219
- Pachymeres, George: 25  
 'Paionian': 57, 67 (n.103), 68, 156  
 see also 'Hungary'  
 Palaiologos, Demetrius: 137 (n.25), 151, 154, 203 (n.144)  
 Palaiologos, Michael: 47  
 Palamas, Gregory: 10, 34 (n.175), 90 (n.34), 124–128, 162–166, 221 f., 224 f., 227–231, 233, 236, 239, 246, 252, 258  
 Palamism: 83, 103, 124–128, 148, 161–166, 168, 221 f., 224–229, 231, 236 f., 259–261  
 Palestine: 72  
*panhypersebastos*: 137 (n.25)  
 Pantokrator, monastery in Constantinople: 211 (n.159)  
 Pantokrator, monastery in Didymoteichos: 47  
 Paroria, monastic centre: 251–253  
*patris*: 199 f.  
 Paul, St: 108  
 Paul of Smyrna: 196 (n.111), 202, 203 (n.144), 260–262  
 Peç: 243–245, 255  
 Peloponnese: 9 (n.33), 73, 209  
 Perdikes, George: 137 (n.25), 165  
 'Persians': 155 f.  
 Peter of Cyprus: 158, 182 f., 193, 196 (n.111)  
 Peter, St: 91, 106 f., 109, 111–114  
 Peter Thomas: see 'Thomas, Peter'  
 Phakrases, Demetrius: 137 (n.25), 154  
 Philip de Bindo Incontri: 27, 158, 188 f., 210–213  
 Phokaia: 155 (n.111)  
 Photian schism: 27, 32, 102, 188  
 Pindar: 9  
 Pisa: 209  
 Planudes, Maximos: 10, 13, 15, 19 (n.91), 20 f., 22 (n.106), 24 (n.119), 25, 28, 101  
 Plato: 8 f., 12, 22 (n.104), 30 (n.154), 50, 52, 91  
 Poland: 248  
 Proclus: 11  
 Propontis: 75

- Prosper of Aquitaine: 23, 35  
 Pseudo-Dionysius: 7, 100  
 Pseudo-Kodinos: 209  
 Ptolemy: 11
- Rhadenos: 137 (n.29)  
 Rhodes: 178 (n.34), 209  
 Riccoldo Pennini da Monte Croce: 26, 34 (n.174)  
 Roman, 'metropolitan of the Lithuanians': 248 f.  
 'Romania': 213  
 'Romans' / *Rhomaioi*: 62, 68, 71 f., 77 f., 157 (n.121), 218, 232  
 Rome: 20 (n.94), 25 (n.125), 28, 43, 45 f., 72, 80, 83, 103–110, 112–114, 116, 118, 123, 162, 169, 183 (n.64), 184, 190 f., 201–203, 223 (n.7), 232 f., 241  
 Romil of Vidin: 255  
 Russia: 225, 242 f., 247–250, 255
- Sabas of Vatopedi: 225, 258 (n.160)  
 schism (see also 'Photian schism'): 27, 108, 117–120, 172 (n.5), 243–245, 250, 266  
 Serbia: 13, 57, 59 (n.50), 60, 63–67, 70 f., 74 f., 156 f., 206, 216, 230, 243–247, 250, 252, 255 f.  
 Sergius of Radonezh: 251, 255  
 Serres: 244  
 Sestos: 59 (n.54)  
 Sigeros, Nicholas: 189  
 'Skyth': 57, 67, 69, 99, 156  
 see also 'Mongols'  
 Slavs: 67, 214, 252 f., 257, 258 (n.160)  
 Smyrna: 58, 73, 178  
 Sophocles: 9  
 Stephen Dušan: 65, 156 f., 176, 216, 243–246  
 Strongilo, Michael: 203 (n.144)  
*symphonia*: 119 f., 122 f., 148  
 Syria: 72
- Tenedos: 54 (n.35), 151, 230  
*theatron*: 137, 143, 151  
 Theognis: 9
- Theokritos: 9  
 Theodore, Despot: 12  
 Theodore of Halich: 247  
 Theodoret of Kiev: 246–248  
 Theodosius of Trnovo: 224 (n.10), 246, 251 f., 254 f., 257, 258 (n.160)  
 Theognostos of Kiev: 247 f.  
 Theoleptos of Philadelphia: 224 f.  
 Thessalonica: 5–10, 13, 42, 47, 50 f., 138, 166, 185 f., 207 (n.149)  
 Thessaly: 47, 65, 73  
 Thomas, Peter: 158, 181, 189, 192–195, 211 (n.159), 217  
 Thrace: 60, 217  
 Thucydides: 9  
 Tismana, monastery: 255  
 Toledo: 27  
*Tome* of 1368: 46, 163, 224, 227 (n.26), 232–239  
 Torsello, Marino Sanudo: 175  
 'Tribaloi': 63 (n.66), 64, 156  
 see also 'Serbia'  
 Trikanos, *hegoumenos* of the Lavra: 67  
 Triklinios, Demetrius: 6  
 Trnovo: 243, 245 f., 248, 250–252, 254–257  
 Troy: 74  
 Turks: 43 f., 47, 57–63, 66 f., 69 f., 73 (n.133), 78–80, 153–156, 172, 177 f., 183, 197, 206 f., 214, 219  
 Tzycandeles, Philip: 203 (n.144)
- Uglješa: 244  
 Umur of Aydin: 178 (n.37)  
 Urban V: 43, 182–184, 195, 202 f.
- Venice: 47, 76, 178, 180, 182–184, 203 (n.143), 206 f., 209, 212  
 Venetians: 76, 146, 159 (n.134), 182, 206–208, 211 f., 263  
 Viterbo: 20 (n.95), 183 (n.64), 202  
 Vladimir: 248  
 Vodița, monastery: 255
- Wallachia: 255  
 Zagora: 47



## MANUSCRIPTS MENTIONED

Burney 75: 134-136  
Coislin. gr. 315: 134-136  
Escorial 61: 27 (n.136)  
Esphigmenou 115: 22 (n.106)  
Laur. 28. 1: 11 (n.43)  
Laur. 59, 24: 134 f.  
Marc. gr. II 2: 19 (n.91)  
Marc. gr. 146: 17 (n.80)  
Moscow ms. 228: 17 (n.80)  
Paris. gr. 1213: 134-136.  
Vat. gr. 83: 11 (n.45)  
Vat. gr. 486: 134 f.  
Vat. gr. 604: 11 (n.43), 24

Vat. gr. 606: 32  
Vat. gr. 607: 23  
Vat. gr. 609: 29 (n.148), 30 (n.150)  
Vat. gr. 614: 6 (n.12)  
Vat. gr. 616: 17 (n.77)  
Vat. gr. 677: 27 (n.142), 31  
Vat. gr. 678: 135  
Vat. gr. 1096: 23 (n.114)  
Vat. gr. 1102: 18 (n.84), 19 (n.89), 135  
Vat. gr. 1115: 31 (n.159), 32 (n.165)  
Vat. gr. 1877: 136  
Vat. gr. 1879: 135 f.

INDEX OF LETTERS OF DEMETRIUS KYDONES CITED

- |  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| L1: 136, 141, 165                        | L86: 165                          |
| L2: 9 (n.32), 12                         | L87: 165                          |
| L3: 155                                  | L88: 163 f.                       |
| L5: 140                                  | L89: 55 (n.39), 151, 157          |
| L7: 156                                  | L93: 139, 154 f., 158 f., 195-197 |
| L8: 156                                  | L96: 162 f.                       |
| L9: 149                                  | L97: 158                          |
| L11: 149                                 | L99: 163                          |
| L12: 138, 149                            | L100: 140 (n.42)                  |
| L13: 155 f.                              | L103: 139, 154, 157-159           |
| L15: 151                                 | L106: 154                         |
| L17: 149, 156                            | L108: 166                         |
| L18: 149                                 | L110: 158                         |
| L19: 149                                 | L111: 47 (n.39)                   |
| L21: 152 (n.91), 159 f.                  | L116: 162, 164                    |
| L25: 30 (n.154), 32, 35, 141, 152 (n.92) | L117: 154                         |
| L28: 151                                 | L114: 145                         |
| L29: 154                                 | L123: 166                         |
| L30: 164 f., 167                         | L124: 137 (n.22), 165             |
| L31: 139 f., 154, 158, 192 f., 197       | L125: 137 (n.22), 165             |
| L33: 9 (n.33)                            | L126: 165                         |
| L35: 166                                 | L129: 162, 164, 167 f., 237-239   |
| L36: 145, 157 f.                         | L131: 159 f.                      |
| L39: 162                                 | L132: 152 (n.93)                  |
| L40: 138                                 | L133: 151                         |
| L43: 6 (n.10), 139, 165                  | L134: 152 (n.93), 153             |
| L50: 150, 163 f.                         | L151: 162, 164                    |
| L51: 156                                 | L156: 166                         |
| L53: 164, 167                            | L164: 138                         |
| L58: 151                                 | L191: 9 (n.32)                    |
| L63: 154                                 | L193: 151                         |
| L64: 151                                 | L218: 155                         |
| L70: 151                                 | L222: 153                         |
| L71: 160                                 | L256: 140                         |
| L72: 166                                 | L262: 144                         |
| L73: 166 (n.163)                         | L263: 141                         |
| L76: 151                                 | L287: 141                         |
| L78: 138                                 | L299: 144                         |
| L79: 47 (n.39), 141                      | L304: 144                         |
| L82: 144                                 | L325: 158, 195 (n.106)            |

L328: 141	L389: 144, 152 (n.91), 153
L343: 141	L400: 142, 162, 164
L346: 141	L410: 144
L363: 140 (n.42)	L432: 138
L378: 161, 166	L437: 141
L384: 141, 143	

ORIGINAL WORKS OF NAMED  
AUTHORS / TRANSLATIONS CITED IN THE TEXT

**Anselm of Canterbury**

*Cur Deus Homo* (translated by Manuel Kalekas): 31 (n.158)

*De azymo et fermentato ad Walerrannum episcopum* (translated by Demetrius Kydones): 26

*De processione Spiritus sancti* (translated by Demetrius Kydones): 26

**Aquinas**

*De articulis fidei* (translated by Demetrius Kydones): 18, 19 (n.92), 33

*De mundi aeternitate* (translated by Prochoros Kydones): 19, 35

*De potentia* (identity of Greek translator unclear): 19 f.

*De rationibus fidei* (two 14th-C translations, one anonymous, one by Demetrius Kydones): 18 f., 31, 33–36

*De spiritualibus creaturis* (translator unknown): 19 f.

*Prooimion to Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics* (translated by Prochoros Kydones): 19, 30 f.

*Summa Contra Gentiles* (translated by Demetrius Kydones): 14, 16–19, 24, 28, 30 f., 34, 36 f., 140, 156

*Summa Theologiae* (translated by Demetrius Kydones, excerpts by Prochoros Kydones): 17–19., 28–31, 33, 36 f., 189

works mentioned in Bernard Gui's *Vita s. Thomae Aquinatis*: 19, with n.92

**Augustine**

*City of God*: 35 f.

*Confessions*: 35 f.

*Contra Iulianum* (excerpts translated by Demetrius Kydones): 24

*De beata vita* (translated by Prochoros Kydones): 22, 29 (n.147)

*De Genesi ad litteram*: 35

*De libero arbitrio* (translated by Prochoros Kydones): 15 (n.71), 22, 29 (n.147)

*De Trinitate* (translated by Maximos Planudes): 15 (n.70), 19 (n.91), 20, 21 (n.99), 28, 33

*De vera religione* (translated by Prochoros Kydones): 22, 29 (n.147)

*Enchiridion* (Greek translation, identity of translator unknown): 24, 33

*In Iohannis Evangelium* (excerpts translated by Demetrius Kydones): 24, 31

*Letters* (translated by Prochoros Kydones): 15 (n.71), 21 f.

**Pseudo-Augustinian texts translated into Greek**

*De decem verbis legis et decem plagis Aegyptiorum* (?Caesarius of Arles, translated by Prochoros Kydones): 15 (n.71), 21 (n.100), 22

*De duodecim abusivorum gradibus* (translated by Maximos Planudes): 21, 22 (n.106), 28

*De fide ad Petrum* (Fulgentius of Ruspe; translated by Demetrius Kydones): 22 f., 29, 33, 36

*Liber sententiarum* (Prosper of Aquitaine; translated by Demetrius Kydones): 23

*Soliloquia sive Monologia* (translated by Demetrius Kydones): 21 (n.100), 23, 29

**Bernard Gui**

*Vita s. Thomae Aquinatis* (excerpt translated by Demetrius Kydones): 19

**Blastares, Matthew**

*Syntagma Canonum*: 7

**Boethius**

*De Consolatione Philosophiae* (translated by Maximos Planudes): 25, 30 (n.150), 35

*De hypotheticis syllogismis* (Greek translation): 15 (n.73), 24 f.

*De topicis differentiis* (commentary by Pachymeres, translations by Manuel Holobolos and Prochoros Kydones): 15 (n.72), 24 f., 30 (n.151)

*De Trinitate* (translated by Manuel Kalekas): 15 (n.72), 25 f.

**Gregory the Great**

excerpts from *Homily XVI* (translated by Demetrius Kydones): 26, 31, 33

**Harmenopoulos, Constantine**

*Procheiron Nomon*: 7

**Hervaeus Natalis**

*Commentary on the Sentences* (excerpts in Greek): 28, 30 (n.151)

**Kabasilas, Nicholas Chamaëtos**

*Commentary on the Eucharist*: 7, 33 f. (n.172)

*The Life in Christ*: 7, 33 f. (n.172)

**Kabasilas, Nil**

*On the Holy Spirit*: 6 f., 32 (n.164), 47 f., 121, 142

**Kantakuzenos, John VI**

*History*: 7, 52, 145, 198 (n.120), 207–209

**Kydones, Demetrius**

*Apologia I*: 5 (n.2), 6 (n.12), 9 (n.30), 13 f., 35 (n.179), 44 f., 47 f., 60 (n.58), 80, Chp. 3 passim, 135, 140, 142–145, 148–150, 159–162, 165, 186, 190, 197–202, 219

*Apologia II*: 44 (n.20), 45, 94–96, 97, 99, 116, 122, 135, 144, 147, 159, 200 (n.137)

*Apologia III*: 34 (n.173), 44 (n.20), 45 f., 85 f., 89, 96–100, 102 f., 110–113, 123–125, 135, 144, 147, 162

*Apologia IV*: 44 (n.20), 46, 67, 102, 126–128., 135, 144, 162 f., 223 (n.7), 226 (n.19), 231 (n.41), 232–239

*De contemnenda morte*: 46, 135 f., 140–142, 165 f.

*De patrum Latinorum ad amicum quondam*: 33 (n.169)

*Encomium* of John Chrysostom: 12

*Encomium* of Riccoldo Pennini da Monte Croce: 26

*Defence of Thomas Aquinas against Nil Kabasilas*: 6 (n.12), 47 f., 94 (n.47), 141

*De personarum proprietatibus in Trinitate*: 32

*First Oration to John Kantakuzenos*: 43, 50–53, 69, 134, 142, 144, 149

*Letters* (see also separate 'Index of Letters of Demetrius Kydones Cited'): 42, 133, 136–140

*Monody on the Dead of Thessalonica*: 42, 140

*On the Holy Spirit*: 31 f.

*Oratio ad Iohannem Palaeologum*: 54 f., 128, 134, 144, 150–152, 162, 203 f.

*Oratio de non reddenda Callipoli*: 43, Chp. 2 passim., 140, 144–146, 153–160

*Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum*: 43, 56 (n.42), Chp. 2 passim, 134 (n.12), 140, 144–146, 153–160, 177, 203, 217

*Prooimia*: 46 f., 49, 136, 141

*Second Oration to John Kantakuzenos*: 43, 52 f., 55, 134 (n.4), 140, 142, 149

*Sermo in Pentecosten et in Spiritum Sanctam*: 31

*Sermon on the Annunciation*: 141

*Sermon on the Ascension*: 141

*Sermon on St Laurence*: 140 f.

*Sermons*: 48, 165

**Joseph the Philosopher**

*Encyclopaedia*: 10

**Philip de Bindo Incontri**

*De processione Spiritus sancti*: 188 f.

*Libellus qualiter Greci recesserunt*: 188 f.

**Riccoldo Pennini da Monte Croce**

*Contra legem Saracenorum* (translated by Demetrius Kydones): 26, 34 (n.174), 36 f., 141 f., 150 (n.83), 156, 189

## The Medieval Mediterranean

Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1500

*Managing Editor:* Hugh Kennedy (London)

*Editors:* Paul Magdalino (St. Andrews), David Abulafia (Cambridge),  
Benjamin Arbel (Tel Aviv), Larry J. Simon (Western Michigan University),  
Olivia Remie Constable (Notre Dame).

This series provides a forum for the publication of scholarly work relating to the interactions of peoples and cultures in the Mediterranean basin and the Black Sea area and is intended for readers with interest in late antiquity, the Middle Ages (Italy, Spain, the Latin East), Byzantium, Islam, the Balkans and the Black Sea. Manuscripts (in English, German and French) should be 60,000 to 120,000 words in length and may include illustrations. The editors would be particularly interested to receive proposals for monograph studies; studies with texts; editions with parallel translations of texts or collections of documents; or translations provided with full annotation.

73. Barton, S. & P. Linehan (eds.). *Cross, Crescent and Conversion*. Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom in Memory of Richard Fletcher. 2008. ISBN 978 90 04 16343 0
74. Beihammer, A.D., M.G. Parani & C.D. Schabel (eds.). *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500*. Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication. 2008. ISBN 978 90 04 16547 2
75. Van Opstall, E.M. *Jean Géomètre*. Poèmes en hexamètres et en distiques élégiaques. Edition, traduction, commentaire. 2008. ISBN 978 90 04 16444 4
76. Kostick, C. *The Social Structure of the First Crusade*. 2008. ISBN 978 90 04 16665 3
77. Hovorun, C. *Will, Action and Freedom*. Christological Controversies in the Seventh Century. 2008. ISBN 978 90 04 16666 0
78. Edelheit, A. *Ficino, Pico and Savonarola*. The Evolution of Humanist Theology 1461/2-1498. 2008. ISBN 978 90 04 16667 7
79. Judde de Larivière, C. *Naviguer, commercer, gouverner*. Économie maritime et pouvoirs à Venise (XVe-XVIe siècles). 2008. ISBN 978 90 04 17072 8
80. Greenhalgh, M. *Marble Past, Monumental Present*. Building with Antiquities in the Mediaeval Mediterranean. 2009. ISBN 978 90 04 17083 4
81. Kogman-Appel, K. & M. Meyer (eds.). *Between Judaism and Christianity*. Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva (Elisabeth) Revel-Neher. 2009. ISBN 978 90 04 17106 0
82. Guscini, M. *The Image of Edessa*. 2009. ISBN 978 90 04 17174 9
83. Kelly Wray, S. *Communities and Crisis*. Bologna during the Black Death. 2009. ISBN 978 90 04 17634 8
84. Boas, A.J. *Domestic Settings*. Sources on Domestic Architecture and Day-to-Day Activities in the Crusader States. 2010. ISBN 978 90 04 18272 1
85. Ryder, J.R. *The Career and Writings of Demetrius Kydones*. A Study of Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Politics, Religion and Society. 2010. ISBN 978 90 04 18565 4